

Jerusalem delays decision on closing Dbaiye office

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The government is putting off a possible decision to close down its mission in Dbaiye, near Beirut, until it sees whether the 30 Lebanese soldiers guarding the building are all removed and whether their departure places the Israeli staff at physical risk, according to official sources.

The government, at all events, is anxious not to close down the mission till after Monday's Knesset elections because of the negative implications. But if discretion makes closure the safest course, an influential group of experts will advocate moving the mission into some nearby area totally controlled by the Lebanese Forces, Christian militias, the sources said.

Israel Television said last night that Israel might pre-empt the Lebanese by moving Israeli personnel out of Dbaiye before they are formally ordered out. The station quoted Foreign and Defence Ministry sources.

Lebanese traders doing business with Southern Lebanon as well as with Israel will still need an office to arrange permits and make contacts.

There is direct telephone contact between Dbaiye and Israel.

If such an office does not operate in the Beirut area, another one would have to be set up within the zone controlled by the IDF in the south.

Although reports from Dbaiye yesterday seemed to confirm that the head of the Lebanese liaison team, Colonel Fawzi Abu Farhat, had in-

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Lebanese wounded by IDF at roadblock

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — A Lebanese citizen was wounded yesterday morning when Israeli Defence Forces soldiers fired on his car as he sped towards a roadblock. He was hospitalized with light wounds in Nabatiya.

South Lebanese Army forces came under light-arms fire yesterday in Sidon. SLA positions and patrols have come under fire several times in the past few days as they increase their deployment in the town.

Office called 'spy centre'

BEIRUT (AP). — Lebanese Minister Adel Oseiran yesterday accused the Israeli liaison office in suburban Dbaiye of being an espionage centre and said it should be closed, since the Lebanese government has withdrawn all recognition from it.

"The office was supposed to be there to resolve the problems of the Lebanese under occupation... it has not been practising its normal duties and in fact it is an espionage centre,"

said Oseiran, 24 hours after he had ordered all Lebanese Army personnel, including Lebanese Army guards, withdrawn from the office within four days.

He said "Israel should not be giving this issue so much concern, unless it plans to remain in Lebanon."

The liaison office remained open yesterday. An Israeli official, who

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Back-to-work orders served to MDA

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Employees of the Magen David Adom blood bank and driver of ambulances and mobile cardiac units, on their third day of "vacation," will return to work today after having received back-to-work orders from the Health Ministry, Administrative workers and employees of first aid stations were not served with these orders since hospitals supply adequate first aid and emergency service.

MDA spokesman Moshe Dayan reported no progress in attempts to renew negotiations with workers, who are demanding that their pay — which is linked to the pay of workers in the municipalities and regional

councils where they serve — be brought into line with the pay of hospital and Health Ministry workers.

Yesterday most first aid stations were closed or only in partial operation, run mostly by doctors not employed by MDA, young women in National Service and a few volunteers. No ambulances were available except for some emergencies when they were dispatched to the scene of traffic accidents. The central blood banks remained closed.

It was not known last night whether all workers will come back to work tomorrow at the end of the three-day "organized leave" or whether the industrial action will be extended.

Refuseniks to strike for Sonnenschien

Jerusalem Post Staff

Some 100 Soviet Jews who have been refused permission to emigrate to Israel are to start a hunger strike next Tuesday in the Soviet Union to coincide with the opening of a legal appeal by fellow refusenik Zachar Sonnenschien against a three-year jail term.

This was stated in Tel Aviv yesterday by the Council for Soviet Jewry. The hunger-strikers are from Riga and Leningrad. Sonnenschien, who was convicted of spreading anti-Soviet propaganda, is being held in solitary confinement as punishment for contempt of court. During his trial, he stood and sang *Hatikva*.

Interim 1:1 score in Davis Cup match with Swiss

Post Sports Staff

Israel and Switzerland were poised at one match apiece at the end of an intriguing opening day's play in the European Davis Cup semi-final tennis tie at Ramat Hasharon yesterday.

Israel's No. 1 Shlomo Glickstein defeated the top Swiss racket Heinz

Gunthardt in straight sets before the Swiss No. 2 Jacob Hlasek survived a come-back by Shahar Perkis to win in five sets.

The doubles are to be played this afternoon with the deciding return singles scheduled for tomorrow afternoon. (See Sports — page 4)



Yehuda Cohen, the convicted Jewish terrorist sentenced yesterday to 1½ years in prison, at the entrance to the district court in Jerusalem. (See story, page 2)

Central bank spent IS9.5b. on bourse in past three days

By PINHAS LANDAU

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Bank of Israel has spent nearly IS10 billion in the last three days soaking up the heaviest wave of selling on the stock exchange since January this year, when the previous crisis in the capital market peaked. Almost IS6b. (\$23 million) has been spent on government bonds thrown onto the market, and a further IS5.3b. (\$13.5m.) supporting the bank shares covered by the "arrangement" with the Treasury.

These developments lend support to the comparisons made by bankers and economists of the current run on the shekel with that of last October which culminated in the collapse of the bank shares. The renewed activity on the stock exchange comes in addition to the intensive trading in the official and unofficial foreign currency markets which has characterized the last few weeks.

In late June the price of the black market dollar rose sharply as massive buying, mainly from the public, cleaned up the available supply. Within a few days, however, the

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Mondale, Ferraro head ticket

Democrats express unity, but not much optimism

SAN FRANCISCO (Reuter). — Walter Mondale, who won the Democratic presidential nomination Wednesday night in a blaze of fireworks and fanfare, yesterday set out his blueprint for victory in the uphill battle against President Reagan.

Mondale's Democrats also made history by ending their four-day convention with the endorsement of New York Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro as the party's vice-presidential nominee. She will be the first woman to run on a major U.S. party ticket.

Mondale, 56, who served as vice-president under Jimmy Carter, won the nomination on the first ballot. The New Jersey delegation, which delayed voting until the very end of balloting, proudly put Mondale over the top, sending a packed convention hall into frenzied celebration.

Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture thundered over loudspeakers, fireworks flared as the lights dimmed and the cavernous convention hall filled with a sea of waving Mondale banners.

Mondale's acceptance speech last night contained both a savage attack on Reagan and his conservative Re-

publicans for ushering in policies that the Democrats say have divided the nation.

Mondale also declared his appointment of Ferraro as vice-presidential nominee to be just one of the steps he plans to make to open doors to all Americans.

Party leaders said they could not recall a Democratic convention that seemed so united behind a candidate after a divisive battle, but they also declared that Mondale's chances of beating Reagan on November 6 do not seem bright.

"We have a chance, but it won't be easy," said Arizona Congressman Morris Udall.

Uruguayan president to visit in August

The president of Uruguay is to pay an official visit to Israel at the end of August, the Foreign Ministry spokesman announced in Jerusalem yesterday.

Lt. Gen. Gregorio Alvarez is to be accompanied by his wife and by Uruguayan Foreign Minister Dr. Carlos Alberto Maeso.

Likud unity gov't push, as Labour stays ahead

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Likud leadership has decided to focus its final pre-election appeal on a fervent call for a national unity government with the Labour Alignment. A decision to that effect was apparently taken in view of the persistent polls of the last few days which show the Likud trailing behind the Alignment by 11-12 Knesset seats. This would make it almost impossible for

the Likud to form a government.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has repeatedly used the national unity appeal during the past two weeks, and last night's Likud television broadcast centred around this theme.

As a result, Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo (Chich) Lahat was the only Likud leader on display in the televised version of the Likud's big election rally in Kikar Makhel Yisrael in Tel Aviv Wednesday night. Lahat's main theme was again the need to set up a broad national unity government after the elections, which must have a strong Likud leadership.

None of the other popular Likud speakers, such as David Levy, Ariel Sharon or even Shamir was given a role.

The pro-Likud professors, led by

Prof. Binyamin Akzin, who appeared on the Likud broadcast last night also stressed the need for a national unity coalition, as did the moderator who narrates the broadcast every night.

According to a number of polls held this week by the main parties, the Alignment would get 48-49 seats; the Likud 37-38; Tehiya 6; Shinui 3-4; Citizens Rights Movement 2-3; Yahad 4; National Religious Party 4-5; Agudat Yisrael and Shas 4-5; and Morasha 3. Arie (Lova) Eliav is close to the 1 per cent threshold.

If these voting patterns hold, the Labour Alignment, together with Shinui, CRM and Yahad would have an absolute majority in the 11th Knesset and could immediately form a coalition government.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Begin has aged, says eyewitness

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Former prime minister Menachem Begin has lost weight and aged considerably since he vanished from public sight over 10 months ago, according to a visitor who this week spent several hours at Begin's home in Rehov Tzema in Jerusalem's Yefe Nof neighbourhood.

Begin, when not in bed, spends the day dressed in pyjamas and dressing-gown, reading and doing some writing. The apartment is kept dark with very little daylight coming in, as the shutters on all the windows are closed throughout the day.

It is because of Begin's poor appearance that the Likud will probably use only his voice, if even that, in its final appeal to the electorate tomorrow night.

Shamir for unity gov't, come what may

By DAVID LANDAU

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has made it clear that he would seek to bring the Likud into a unity government under Labour if the Likud loses the election.

Ideally, Shamir told *The Jerusalem Post* in a pre-election interview, his call for a unity government is predicated on a Likud election success and his continuing to serve as prime minister. But he would consider urging a unity government even if Alignment leader Shimon Peres emerges as prime minister.

designate. "It all depends... on the results", Shamir told *The Post*.

In a separate interview with *The Post* Peres rejected a unity government. "There are hard national choices that need to be made," he said.

He argued that key economic problems, such as the outlay for the IDF's deployment in Lebanon and expenditures on West Bank settlement, await clear-cut political decisions.

The interviews appear in full in today's magazine.

Judges get pay increase, MKs seen next

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

An increase in salary for MKs and ministers is on the cards following yesterday's decision by the Knesset Finance Committee to raise judges' wages.

Although there is no direct link between judges' salaries and those of ministers and Knesset members, both are adjusted according to the average wage, and at yesterday's meeting there was little doubt that MKs and ministers would soon de-

mand wage increases.

The decision to raise the wages of judges, Jewish religious judges (dayanim) and Moslem kadis by 50 per cent from next month was the last business of the committee in the 10th Knesset.

The committee approved a motion by Justice Minister Moshe Nissim to adjust judges' wages four times a year in accordance with the increase in the average wage in the economy. Until now their wages have been adjusted twice a year.

Judges also receive the cost of living compensation payments (as do all wage earners).

The wage increase item was only introduced to the agenda on Wednesday, meaning that most committee members did not know it was going to be raised.

Since most of yesterday's meeting was given over to Nissim's proposal, other items on the agenda, such as the price of electricity were not discussed. A 13.3 per cent increase in postal rates was approved.



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For full details see page VIII in today's Elections Supplement.

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	24	25-30
Golan	24	24-33
Nahariya	24	24-33
Safed	24	24-33
Haifa Port	24	24-33
Tiberias	24	24-33
Nazareth	24	24-33
Alula	24	24-33
Shimon	24	24-33
Tel Aviv	24	24-33
B-G Airport	24	24-33
Jericho	24	24-33
Gaza	24	24-33
Be'er Sheva	24	24-33
Eilat	24	24-33

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Chaim Herzog participated in a memorial meeting yesterday marking the 25th anniversary of the death of his father, Chief Rabbi Yitzhak Halevi Herzog, at Yad Harav Herzog in Jerusalem. The meeting was attended by several hundred persons.

President Herzog also yesterday received at Beit Hanassi over 100 American Orthodox rabbis attending the annual leadership conference of the Rabbinical Council of America. Their closing dinner was addressed last night by Israel Defence Forces Chief of Staff Moshe Levy.

LABOUR AHEAD

(Continued from Page One)

Sarah Honig adds: The two large parties played it straight again on television last night. The Alignment produced a *Pillar of Fire*-type historical review of pioneering in Eretz Yisrael, while the Likud, in an obvious appeal to the thus far neglected high-brow vote, started off its broadcast with a symposium of soft-spoken professors.

The Alignment devoted the entire time allotted to it last night to a review of the pioneering saga of Israel, from the founding of Petah Tikva a century ago, to Tel Aviv and Degania, and on to development towns and the arms industry. The background narration was by actor Yossi Banai, who also narrated Israel Television's *Pillar of Fire* series.

The punch-line of the Alignment offering was to show the wheels of progress grinding to a halt, as the Likud took over. The message was that to get things moving again the government must be changed.

The Likud then produced four professors, Benyamin Akzin, Yosef Rabani, Teddy Weinschall, and David Danon, who accused the Alignment of exploiting Histadrut funds for its own partisan purposes and called for the establishment of a national unity government under Likud leadership.

A further appeal to the middle class vote came from Defence Minister Moshe Arens, who warned that the Alignment would turn Judea and Samaria into a second Lebanon, with terrorist fire directed at Petah Tikva and Kfar Sava.

Misgav Ladach workers declare labour dispute

Employees at Jerusalem's Misgav Ladach Hospital yesterday declared a labour dispute, which means that the hospital faces a full-scale strike within two weeks if agreement is not reached on the staff's demands.

Hospital workers want the management to implement recent private sector wage agreements.

HOME NEWS



Levy denies 'premiership' deal with Weizman

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Deputy Prime Minister David Levy categorically denied yesterday that he had offered Ezer Weizman a deal whereby Weizman would share the post of prime minister in rotation with the Likud form the next government. According to reports in the evening papers yesterday, Levy met Weizman last week and offered him either the post of prime minister in rotation with Shimon Peres, or the post of first deputy prime minister, and acting prime minister under Shimon Peres.

Levy reacted by calling the report "a total and absurd fabrication from A to Z." He denied that he had shared with anyone about any role in a possible new Likud government.

Levy explained that a meeting

between himself and Weizman had indeed taken place last week, after an attack by Weizman's Yahad list against the Likud. But the meeting was attended by several other persons from both sides, so that no confidential deals could possibly have come up. The purpose of the meeting, according to Levy, was to clarify Yahad's intentions particularly whether a formal decision had been arrived at in Yahad to launch an onslaught on the Likud and to then prefer an Alignment-led coalition.

Levy stressed at the meeting that the basis for any participation in a Likud coalition would be "the position of the potential partner on the issues of the territorial integrity of Eretz Yisrael and its opposition to ceding territories to foreign sovereignty."

David Rudge adds:

Levy addressed a rally outside the Likud campaign headquarters in the Hadar quarter of Haifa last night. It was attended by about 2,500 people - slightly more than turned out for Shamir three days earlier.

Weizman said yesterday that Israel "could have repeat elections in a year or two."

The best solution for the nation at this time would be a national unity government, he told the Rotary Club here yesterday, "but this is very doubtful." The second best choice would be "a viable coalition of which we would be part." However he refused to indicate who the main partner in that coalition would be. "We maintain good relations with everybody."

All smiles for Peres in former Likud bastion

Shimon Peres went baby-kissing and old lady-hugging yesterday in a Jerusalem neighbourhood which no Alignment politician has dared to enter since 1977. Even the most optimistic of the political activists who put together the tour of Musarra said afterwards they were amazed at his reception.

For two hours, Peres toured homes in the neighbourhood where, according to Ya'acov Baluz, a 25-year-old resident, "Project Renewal only helped Likud voters." Surrounded by security men, local neighbourhood toughs in Alignment T-shirts, cameramen and curious residents, Peres picked up babies, put his arm around old ladies, and smiled and smiled as a party worker snapped Polaroid souvenirs for whoever got into the picture with him.

Just up the street from the Labour party office that has some 400 people signed up for party activities, a few Likud activists at their headquarters tried to mock the Peres visit. But they were shouted down with a chant usually reserved for such Likud

EYE-WITNESS Robert Rosenberg

luminaries as David Levy or Arik Sharon. "Shimon, Shimon, Peres, Peres," went the shouts, accompanied by handclapping above heads covered by cardboard Alignment hats.

Perhaps more than anything else, the unusual scene gave expression to the assumption that there has been a change of heart in the neighbourhoods where once only the Likud could claim voters. In 1981, Musarra voted 80 per cent Likud. Conservative estimates by local activists yesterday said that the Alignment could take 50 per cent of the vote this year.

MKS Uzi Baram and Ya'acov Gil accompanied Peres and said that "hard work with local community workers" such as Sa'adia Marciano of the Black Panthers and Yamin Suissa of the Ohel Movement, had been a key factor in Musarra's change of heart.

Ometz puts on brave face at campaign climax

Like most representatives of small parties, Zalman Shoval, No. 2 on Yigael Hurvitz's Ometz ticket, seems sure his voters aren't defecting to the large parties in the last days before the elections.

He says that this election will reverse the trend of 1981 when the big fellows - the Likud and the Alignment - swept up votes in the last week. And again, like most representatives of small parties, Shoval is sure that his party's issue is clear enough and cogent enough to keep voters from straying.

The name of the game for small parties is to become the deciding factor in any coalition. But Shoval, speaking last night to English-speaking voters in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, added Ometz's special twist: It's first priority, he said, is to use the leverage of a small

EYE-WITNESS Michael Eilan

list to form a national unity government.

It was very much a high-brow election meeting. Shoval gave a clear and detailed exposition of the economic situation, and why it's such a mess. He then repeated the basic Ometz message, which is that things are even worse than they look.

Finally, he made his pitch. It came in two parts - first what Ometz wants to do about the economy, and then how Ometz could force either the Likud or the Alignment to let it run the economy.

So far so good. But then Zvi Even-Paz, one of the audience of 23 people, asked a sticky question.

I'm a Mapainik, Rafal tells stunned audience

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - "The Likud's ideology is not mine. I'm a Mapainik, a Labour-Zionist at heart," Tehiya-Tzomet number two Rafael Eitan yesterday told a crowd of ardent Likud supporters in a tiny cafe in the heart of Haifa's Quarter.

His listeners, several of whom had said they were considering a shift from the Likud to Tehiya-Tzomet were noticeably disappointed. "But the people believe that you're a Herut man," they protested.

Before the former chief-of-staff arrived, a group of men said they had

EYE-WITNESS

always voted Likud in the past, but now will vote for Eitan's party "because Rafal is so honest and because he said the Arabs must be taught a lesson. If they start war on us and we take land, they will not get it back. That's what he said in the election broadcasts."

Rafal arrived on schedule at 4 p.m. His audience, all ardent believers in the concept of "greater Israel" and "teaching the Arabs a lesson," found it hard to swallow that he is not a Likud man. They

EYE-WITNESS Michael Eilan

were totally baffled when he explained that the differences between the Alignment and Likud were very small.

If the Alignment supports Greater Israel and "returns to the Zionism of Ben-Gurion and the Zionist ideas of the days before the state was founded, there is no reason for not forming a national unity government," Rafal said, when asked if he would ever go with the Alignment.

Asked what he could offer the slum quarters if he came into power, Rafal said he would make no promises, but would emphasize improving education, one of the main problems throughout the country.

DBAIYE OFFICE

(Continued from Page One)

deed delivered a note to the head of the Israeli mission announcing the closure in two or three days, and although the Lebanese guards seemed to be making some preparations to abandon the building, there was still a full complement of troops there yesterday afternoon.

The Lebanese Forces mission in Jerusalem declared yesterday that the forces are interested in Dbaiye's retaining its liaison office in Dbaiye. However, if Israel decides to accept a Lebanese government request to close it, the Forces will not block such a move, a spokesman said.

On the other hand, if Israel were to decide to defy the Lebanese government, the Lebanese Forces would give protection to the Israeli mission. The spokesman said that this position was enunciated in June by Forces commander Fadi Frem, and has not changed.

Israel's senior negotiator with Lebanon said yesterday that if Lebanon closes the liaison office, it will endanger the chances of an eventual Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

Herzog at Herzl rite: Justice, peace our aim

An ethical society and peace are the pillars of Zionist belief and must be established in Israel, President Chaim Herzog said last night.

Speaking at a ceremony and sound-and-light show on Jerusalem's Mt. Herzl marking the 80th anniversary of the death of Benyamin Ze'ev Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, the president said that Zionism was not meant to be a fighting movement, but had been forced to defend itself from hostile neighbours.

The ceremony, which was also attended by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Jewish Agency Executive chairman Arye Dulzin, marked "Zionism Day," the newly designated title for the anniversary of Herzl's death.

Galilee fire destroys forest, nature reserve

AVIVIM (Itim). - A fire which broke out yesterday near this Upper Galilee moshav devastated 400 dunams of natural forest. Firemen and volunteers managed to get the blaze under control six hours after it started at 11 a.m.

The fire also destroyed a nature reserve area in the Avivim-Baram region. Nature Reserves officials from the Meron Field School found that the fire started near the main road, which leads them to believe it was started by someone throwing a lit cigarette from a vehicle.

RECORD. - The Electric Corporation yesterday afternoon registered another record in electricity consumption of 2525 megawatt per hour, topping Wednesday's high of 2500 megawatt.

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YISRAEL KESSAR
Secretary General
of the Histadrut
General Federation of Labour in Israel

Jewish terrorist gets 1 1/2-year prison term

The Jerusalem District Court yesterday sentenced one of the members of the Jewish terrorist underground, Yehuda Cohen, to 1 1/2 years in prison and two years suspended.

Cohen was convicted of taking part in the plot to blow up the Moslem Dome of the Rock shrine on the Temple Mount. Cohen, in a deal with the prosecution, confessed to taking part in three surveillances of the Temple Mount to scout out the security arrangements there. After being arrested, Cohen expressed remorse over his actions.

Cohen's lawyer, Avshalom Levy, said he would appeal against the sentence, which he described as "severe."

Judge Ezra Hedaya said that there was no need to stress the gravity of the crime. "I won't exaggerate if I say that the aim of the conspiracy - to blow up the Dome of the Rock, holy to many millions of Moslems around the world - is shocking, and constitutes a threat to public order and endangers the public. Who knows what would have been the consequences of the conspiracy (had the attack been carried out)?"

Protection of the public and the public's security, said Hedaya, must be the primary consideration in passing judgment. He agreed in principle with the prosecution's request that the sentence be "substantial" and rejected the defence plea to hand down only a suspended sentence against Cohen.

In his confession, Cohen said that the plot to blow up the Dome of the Rock was dropped by the underground when Israeli border police joined the local Moslem Waqf guards at the site. The underground originally intended to blow up the shrine on Yom Kippur or Pessah five after using a gas to stun the Moslem guards.

The aim of the attack, according to Cohen's confession, was to "arouse the spirit of the (Jewish) people," Yehuda Etzion, an alleged member of the underground, told him, that 24 to 48 persons would be needed in the attack and some of the attackers would have to get into any stay in the Temple Mount compound on the night before, Cohen said. They would let in the bulk of the attack force after taking one of the gates from within, he said.

MK Haim Druckman, the head of the Morasha list, yesterday condemned the sentence against Cohen as a "horrible injustice which screams up to the heavens." (Itim)

Electricity workers agree to IS60,000 pay cut

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. - Israel Electric Corporation employees have agreed to an average one-time pay cut of IS60,000 per worker for the period of their recent strike. *The Jerusalem Post* was told last night.

Asher Cohen, acting chairman of the works committee, said that this was part of the strike settlement agreement.

He said both sides had agreed to "industrial peace." But he warned that should this be broken, the workers would reopen the dispute.

Any attempt by the corporation to make the workers pay for damages caused by the strike would be strongly resisted.

An Electric Corporation spokesman said the total loss to the economy and the corporation as a result of the strike amounted to \$7.8 million. The corporation would recoup \$1.8 million by docking employees' salaries.

He said the brunt of the cost was borne by the economy because of production losses due to the power cuts. The total losses in this respect amounted to \$4.4m. The extra costs incurred by the Electric Corporation were mainly the result of having to use more expensive heavy fuel oil instead of coal at the Hadara power station.

Angry teachers vow to disrupt school opening

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The two teachers unions (Histadrut Teachers Union and Secondary Schools Teachers Association) announced last night that they will disrupt the coming school year in protest against not receiving the parity bonus.

The expressed anger at Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, who had

promised to demand the bonus for the teachers if the engineers in civil service got it.

The engineers did get it, the teachers say, but the minister did not keep his promise.

On Sunday, the teachers will announce specifically how the school year will be disrupted.

Spectacular display of power highlights Air Force Day

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HATZERIM. - A live-fire display by two helicopter gunships was the highlight of Air Force Day, celebrated yesterday at this base near Beersheba.

With split-second precision, Cobra and Defender helicopters, firing missiles, simultaneously demolished two targets directly in front of the large crowd which enthusiastically applauded the air show and pilots' graduation ceremony.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Chief of Staff Moshe Levy and Air Force Commander Aluf Amos Lapidot were greeted as they arrived by a fly-past of three helicopters trailing the national and air force flags, followed by three Kfir fighters in close formation.

After a brief speech, Shamir pinned his wings on the outstanding graduate of the recent course and

Lapidot then pinned on the wings of other graduates. Three helicopter flew in salute to the new pilots.

The cadets then performed the traditional parade of formation marching. The new pilots were dismissed and, standing in a circle, threw their hats in the air, before joining their families in the stands to watch the rest of the show.

It continued with a display of aerobatics by Tzukit (improved Fouga) trainers. The Israeli Air Force flew overhead dropping four paratroopers, who maneuvered with special parachutes until they landed on a red "X" marked on the runway. The Arava then landed, permitting the four to disembark and took off again within a few seconds.

As a reminder of the old days, one of Israel's first pilots, Danny Shay, flew his black Spitfire, the same plane which he flew in 1948. It was joined by an F-15, the most powerful aircraft in the IAF arsenal.

The unveiling of the tombstone of
HARRY ZIFKIN
will take place on Sunday, July 22, 1984, at 5 p.m. at Caesarea Cemetery (opposite Kibbutz Sdot Yam).
We shall meet at our home at Caesarea, at 4.30 p.m.
Judy and David Zifkin
Anita and Yigal Zylberberg
Tel. 083-81049

We deeply mourn the passing of our beloved
HEINZ (Zvi) BRODNITZ
on July 19, 1984.
The funeral will take place today, Friday, July 20, 1984, at 11.30 a.m., and will leave from the Municipal Funeral Parlour, 5 Rehov Dafna, Tel Aviv, for Holon Cemetery.
A bus will be available for those attending.
Please refrain from condolence visits.
The Family

We regret to announce the death of our father
MOSES SHAPIRO
of Port Elizabeth, South Africa
Meyer and Hanna Shapiro and family, Tzafra
Hanna Weintraub and family, Tel Aviv
Asna and John Thorpe and family, Port Elizabeth

The unveiling of the tombstone and a memorial service for our late, beloved father
LOUIS (Yehuda Leib) BOGOMOLSKY
will take place on Sunday, July 22 (Tammuz 22, 5744), at 5 p.m. at the Shaar Hashomaym, Kibbutz Yotvatshalim, near the inter-communal cemetery in Haifa.
Shalom and Chaim Bogomolsky
Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Haifa

Emigrants' forms still untapped by officials

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Thousands of forms filled out in the last two years by Israeli emigrants at an Absorption Ministry office in Tel Hashomer that should have been used to encourage the emigrants to return to Israel lie untouched and used, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

The ministry established its office at the Israel Defense Forces RAM (Reshimat Ma'avar) 70 headquarters at Tel Hashomer, where all Israeli emigrants visiting Israel must register in order to be permitted to leave the country. Ministry officials thought then, in early 1982, that the location would allow them to reach all emigrants visiting Israel and to put them in contact with aliyah emissaries abroad.

However, an as-yet-unpublished research paper by Dr. Aharon Fein of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem states that none of the forms has yet been used for following up the emigrants' interest in returning to Israel. Fein, of the School of Social Work, declares in the research paper — which he conducted for the Absorption Ministry — that the RAM 70 office of the Ministry is "in no contact whatever with ministry departments or with emissaries abroad to allow continuing contact with the Israelis registered in the office."

As a result, said Fein, no Israelis who expressed interest in returning to Israel have been contacted by an aliyah emissary when they returned to the Diaspora and no information about jobs, housing or benefits was sent to them.

The forms filled out by the emigrants at RAM 70 also included the addresses and phone numbers of relatives living in Israel who were supposed to provide a reliable means of contact with the emigrant. But these connections, too, were never used by the ministry.

An Absorption Ministry spokesman admitted to *The Post* that the forms are not transferred to World Zionist Organization emissaries abroad, but could not explain the reason.

Long-standing conflict between the Jewish Agency and the Absorption Ministry is believed to be the cause of the lack of contact. Eli Artzi, the Absorption Ministry director-general who resigned a few months ago to try to win a Knesset seat on the Tami list was in constant disagreement with Raphael Kordowitz, Knesset chairman of the Jewish Agency's aliyah department who has since been replaced. But even though neither Artzi nor Kordowitz is still in his job, lack of coordination between the two offices persists, and the possible interest of thousands of emigrants in returning to Israel remains untapped.



The Rabbi of Gur (centre) sits at a gathering of Gur Hassidim in support of Agudat Yisrael in Jerusalem yesterday. Although the rabbi did not speak, his presence is taken as his endorsement of Aguda's Knesset campaign. (Amir Gavrieli)

St. Peter's fish to be exported to U.S.

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — The Fishbreeders Union has signed a contract with an American importer for the annual supply of 450 tons of St. Peter's fish filets.

The contract, worth \$2.3 million, is the biggest export deal ever won by the breeders. It is to be automatically renewed every year, unless one of the parties cancels it.

Levin stressed that the deal will nearly double production of St. Peter's fish (Ammon) giving the breeders a big boost. It takes 1,500 tons of fish to make 450 tons of filets.

They had been grooming the St. Peter's as the "fish of the future" to gradually overtake the carp, and the

new contract will raise total pond fish production by over 10 per cent.

The filets, to be processed in the union's recently opened Dag She'an plant in Beit She'an, will be shipped to the U.S. in refrigerated containers, starting in October. Processing will start next week.

The filets will be shipped as raw material for the production of ready-to-fry fish in a U.S. factory, and will be customs-exempt.

The breeders raise some 12,000 tons of fish, mainly carp, in their ponds annually. Until now the St. Peter's fish accounted for some 2,000 tons of the total.

They can easily raise production with their present facilities, and only lack of demand restricts an increase.

Lifeguards threaten strike over 'open beaches'

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — The country's lifeguards are threatening to strike unless the Interior Ministry rescinds the "open beaches" law which permits bathing along certain stretches of the coast without supervision.

Yitzhak Gefen, chairman of the lifeguards union, said the majority of drownings so far this year occurred on unsupervised beaches.

Lifeguards were constantly having to leave their posts to go to the aid of swimmers in the open beaches. But

instead of increasing the number of lifeguards, the ministry was cutting back on staff, he said.

Gefen is awaiting a reply to their demand from Interior Minister Yosef Burg before launching the threatened strike. The union has already asked the Histadrut to declare a labour dispute on its behalf.

The lifeguards are also angry over delays in negotiating a new wage agreement with the local authorities union.

Defendant on bail to vote for Knesset

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A man who is on trial on charges of large-scale drug-dealing and who has been remanded until the end of proceedings against him, will be permitted to leave jail on bail on Monday to vote in the Knesset elections.

This was the ruling of the district court here yesterday after defendant Shmuel Levy's advocate asked that his client be released to vote. The petition argued that Levy's remand

was meant to keep him under detention and not to prevent him from exercising his democratic rights.

The advocate also said that Levy, 31, had been released on bail previously for holidays and had always returned.

The state prosecutor did not object to Levy's release for 24 hours on election day. Bail was set at IS\$50,000.

Beduin elect Jewish mukhtar

ACRE (Itim). — A member of kibbutz Geshet Haziv in Western Galilee has been elected as mukhtar and council chairman of the Beduin village of Arab al-Aramsha. Willy Agmon is believed to be the first Jewish mukhtar of a Beduin tribe.

Agmon has been assisting Arab al-Aramsha near Kibbutz Idmit on the Lebanon border for several years, since serving as chairman of the Sulam Tzur regional council.

He was instrumental in building a local school and kindergarten for the village and also organized handicraft courses for the local women. Recently he organized a summer camp for the village children at Idmit, making use of the kibbutz swimming pool.

Moshavim pleased after meeting with authorities

Jerusalem Post Reporter
BEERSHEBA. — Representatives of the six moshavim in the Hevel Shalom area said yesterday that they were pleased with their meeting with representatives of the Treasury, the Agriculture Ministry and the Jewish Agency.

They said it had been resolved to set up an inter-departmental committee of the three bodies to work out a long-range plan for Hevel Shalom within three months.

Members of the moshavim had blocked the road leading to the Egyptian border crossing at Rafah for several days last week, in protest against debt schedules and production conditions. They lifted the roadblock on Monday, as a gesture of goodwill before this week's meeting with authorities.

Man remanded for smoking altercation

HAIFA (Itim). — A resident of the Kiryat Yam suburb was arrested on Tuesday after he attacked a girl soldier and a civil guardsman when he was asked to stop smoking on the Carmelit underground train.

The Haifa Magistrates Court yesterday remanded Avi Suissa, 26, in custody for five days to give police time to complete their investigation. The police said that Suissa attacked the soldier and slapped her after she asked him to stop smoking. He then threw the burning cigarette at her and attacked the civil guardsman before being chased and caught by a policeman.

Nablus murder defendant freed on bail

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Ephraim Segal of Eilon Moreh, charged with being an accessory in the murder of 11-year-old Aisha al-Bahsh in Nablus last December, was yesterday released on IS\$150,000 bail by the local district court.

Segal is charged with transporting Yosef Harnoi, accused of the murder, back to their West Bank village of Eilon Moreh after Harnoi allegedly shot the girl dead.

The court ruled that, as the verdict would not be delivered before De-

cember, no useful purpose would be served by Segal's detention apart from punishing a prisoner who had not been found guilty. But Segal was prohibited by the court from visiting Nablus, where the murder took place.

The prosecution argued against Segal's release on the grounds that he had interfered with witnesses in the case by sending notes to his friends during the trial. The defence noted that all prosecution witnesses have already testified so they could not be intimidated.



IDF Chief Communications and Electronics Officer Tat-Aluf Mordechai Bar-Dagan unveils the bars of Segen Mishne Orit Cohen, the outstanding graduate of the corps' officer course, which ended this week.

Remand in Temple Mount incursion attempt

A man who attempted on Tuesday to force his way onto the Temple Mount in his car was remanded for 12 days yesterday by the magistrate's court in Jerusalem and ordered to be taken for psychiatric observation.

A police representative said that David Chaim Arye pulled a youth, Shaul Shitai, into his car, broke through two barriers, and was only stopped when he crashed into a shed at the entrance to the Mount. (Itim)

Two suspects held for damaging monument

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TIBERIAS. — The police yesterday arrested two villagers from Turan, near Nazareth, who are suspected of trying to damage the Golani Brigade monument in Lower Galilee. Two men were seen pouring paint over the monument and trying to break

off the rifles which constitute part of it. Police gave chase and two men were arrested. Security forces believe that the suspects might also have been involved in acts against Galilee settlements and look-out posts several months ago.

CAMP. — Teen-agers from the U.S. and Canada, together with their Israeli peers, are attending a one-month camp at Wizo's Nir Ha'emek Agricultural High School in Afula. Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, had suggested the idea as a way of bringing unaffiliated Jewish youngsters in closer touch with Israel, and World Wizo President Rava Jaglom offered her organization's facilities.

CONCERTS. — A choir representing some of Rumania's Jewish communities is now in Israel to give a series of concerts around the country. The choir will perform in Jerusalem on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. One concert will be given in Tel Aviv's Mann Auditorium on Wednesday. A final concert will be given the following week in Upper Nazareth.

Paraguay claims Mengele is not in country

ASUNCION, Paraguay (AFP). — The Nazi war criminal, Josef Mengele, the doctor who conducted experiments on prisoners at Auschwitz, is not in Paraguay, a government spokesman said here on Wednesday.

"Our country's ports are open to anyone seeking Mengele and we will be grateful if (anyone) helps us to find him," he said.

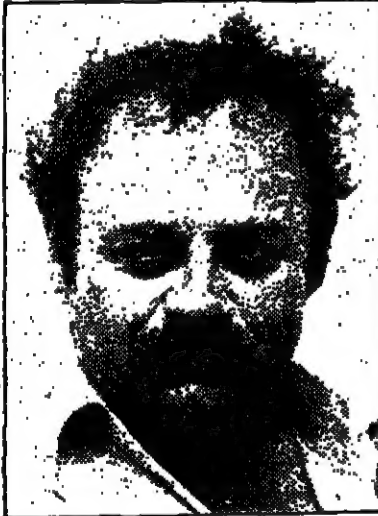
The spokesman was referring to a local newspaper report that an American former judge had recently almost cornered Mengele in Paraguay but the war criminal had managed to flee.

Periodically, Nazi hunters have said that Mengele was in hiding in Paraguay, sometimes charging that this was with government connivance.

CAST YOUR VOTE FOR ACTIONS, NOT FOR WORDS

An appeal from beyond the "Green Line"

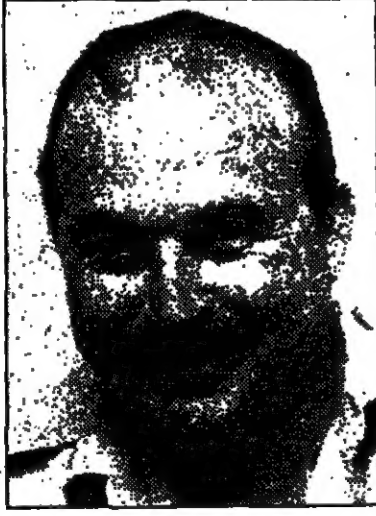
Heads of local councils and leading public figures from settlements in Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan Heights are rallying round the Mafdal. They are uniquely placed to appreciate how much the Mafdal has contributed to strengthening the settlement movement in every part of Eretz Yisrael. And they are extremely concerned about what will happen to religious Zionist settlement — in the spirit of Torah ve'Avodah — unless there is a strong Mafdal presence in the Government.



SHILO GAL
Head of the Gush Etzion Regional Council

Whoever wants to vote for promises — good luck to him. I have decided to vote for actions. I am involved in the day-by-day scene in Judea and Samaria, in developing creative community activities, in operating educational and cultural institutions and other municipal services. And I wish to state unequivocally that it is solely due to Dr. Burg's position as Interior Minister and his membership of the Mafdal faction in the Knesset, that we have been able to organize such a high standard of vital services in the new settlements of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

It is only by means of the massive aid granted to the local and regional councils in these areas that the settlements have been able to grow and to develop. Even those heads of councils in Judea, Samaria and Gaza who recently announced in press ads that they were leaving the Mafdal will acknowledge the inescapable truth that without the generous assistance — beyond the strict letter of the law — of the Government Ministries headed by Mafdal Ministers, the settlement scene in these areas would be much worse off. That is why I have decided to vote Mafdal. To cast my vote for actions, not for words.



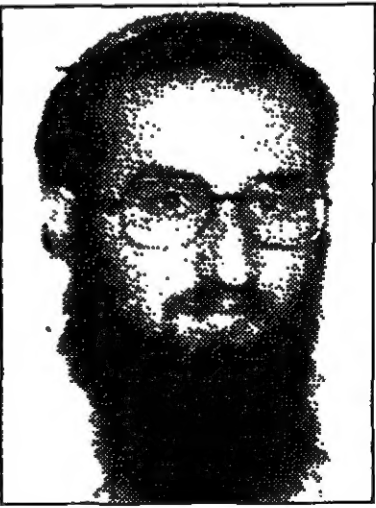
NISSAN SLOMIANSKY
Chairman of the Elkana Local Council, Samaria

I was beset by doubts. However, the incredible potential embedded in the national religious movement — in all its shades — together with the impressive activity in the field, have turned the scales. This is not a time for deserting. This is a time for helping from within and overcoming obstacles. The prospect of four difficult years ahead does not allow us the "luxury" of breaking up the existing framework in order to seek something new. We need a single, large, strong National Religious Party that will fill the breach, and that will exert its influence according to its credo: Eretz Yisrael, Am Yisrael, Torat Yisrael. That's why I have decided: Mafdal.



MOSHE MOSKOVITZ
Chairman of the Efrat Local Council — Gush Etzion

At this critical hour, the National Religious camp must unite and must do all in its power to be strong — internally as well as externally. Only a substantial representation in the Knesset will allow us to achieve the tasks ahead.



ASHER KOLA
Director and Rabbi in Yeshivat Chispin, Ramat Hagolan

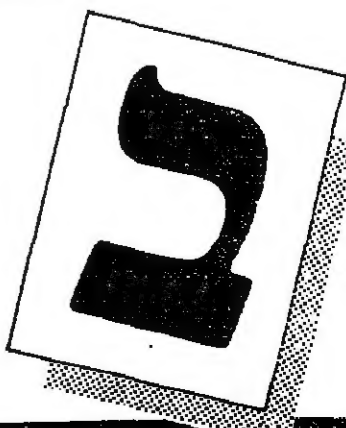
Despite the criticism leveled against the Mafdal leadership, it is crucial that the educational system remain the responsibility of Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer, who has made such a vital contribution to Torah Jewish education in Israel.



ZVI HENDEL
Deputy Head of the Hof Gaza Regional Council

There can be no argument that the huge settlement activity established and nurtured by the National Religious Party is unparalleled in other movements, despite the internal squabbles and dissensions that have led to defections from the party. Only by strengthening the Mafdal can this huge settlement activity be further strengthened.

NO IFS OR BUTS VOTE MAFDAL



N.R.P. — THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY FOR ISRAEL AND FOR YOU

French gov't formed; Communists stay out

PARIS (AP). — Newly appointed Premier Laurent Fabius formed a new government yesterday, one that included no Communists and few new names, though some posts were switched.

The Communist Party, which had been offered four portfolios in the Fabius government, announced earlier that it would not join the cabinet because Fabius had failed to prove a "clear definition of a new policy."

The composition of the government, read on the steps of the Elysee Palace by Jean-Louis Bianco, secretary-general of the presidency, included 16 full ministers. Secretaries of state and sub-ministers will be announced on Monday, Bianco said.

The outgoing government numbered 43, including the premier, 14 full ministers and the secretaries of state.

The crucial Ministry of Economy,

Finance and Budget went to Pierre Bérégovoy, formerly minister for social affairs. Bérégovoy replaces the widely respected Jacques Delors, who has been named president of the executive commission of the Common Market.

Another change of note was the re-entry into the government of Jean-Pierre Chevènement, leader of the Socialist Party's extreme left-wing faction who resigned his post as minister of industry and research a year ago in a disagreement over policy. He returns to the government as education minister, taking the post held by Alain Savary, who reportedly resigned earlier after his bill reforming private schools was withdrawn from parliament.

Fabius, a moderate socialist and close Mitterrand associate, was appointed premier on Tuesday after Pierre Mauroy's government resigned.

British ferry passengers stranded by dockers strikes

LONDON (AP). — Port authorities, bowing to threats by angry truckers stranded by Britain's dock strikes, yesterday headed off a renewed blockade of the English Channel port of Dover by allowing 180 trucks into the port.

On the other side of the channel, however, Calais remained blocked to ferries, the Dover Harbour board reported.

A British ferry operator said 300 of its passengers were stranded at sea off another French port, Cherbourg, by truck drivers who refused to let the vessel dock.

As the dispute entered its 10th day, police on motorcycles early yesterday escorted the convoy of trucks into Dover from a nearby highway after drivers threatened to break through police cordons and blockade the port.

Truckers, angry that Britain's

striking longshoremen are allowing through passengers ferries, but not freight, to be loaded on ferries, disrupted ferry services at five English and continental ports on Wednesday. They have threatened new blockades unless they are allowed to move soon.

Truckers sporadically disrupted passenger ferry services on Wednesday at Dover and Calais and the Belgian ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge, and have threatened more blockades.

Meanwhile ferry workers' strikes in Italy yesterday delayed thousands of holidaymakers.

Trade union and government officials were meeting over the walk-outs, which snarled ferry service linking the mainland with Sicily, Sardinia and other islands. More strikes were planned for the rest of the summer.

Britain's defence secretary orders army shake-up

LONDON (AP). — Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine ordered a major shake-up Wednesday in the top echelon of Britain's armed forces, stripping senior commanders of policy-making powers and centralizing control under the chief of the defence staff.

The programme, which takes effect next January, is the biggest reorganization among top positions in the Defence Ministry since individual service departments were combined 20 years ago.

Heseltine's programme is designed to impose tough new controls on spending and will scrap the offices of chiefs of staff of the army, air force and navy.

Heseltine plans to create a combined defence staff run by the current chief, Field Marshal Sir Edwin Bramall, and Heseltine's permanent secretary, Sir Clive Whitmore.

The chiefs of staff will remain heads of their services, but will not have direct access to Heseltine. Instead they will have to work through Bramall, who joined the army as a private 40 years ago.

Last week the chiefs of staff appealed to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to block the move, but she refused.

Nine of Britain's 50 top staff-rank officers will be removed in the reorganization.

The money saved is intended to help pay for a controversial \$11.48-billion programme to replace Britain's Polaris nuclear submarine force with the U.S. D-5 Trident missile system.

Spending on sophisticated new weapons systems and new generations of costly combat planes and warships takes more than half of the current \$22.4b. defence budget.

Argentina stops talks on Falklands

BUENOS AIRES (AP). — Argentina said yesterday it interrupted the informal talks begun with Britain only 15 hours earlier on the Falkland Islands because the UK refused to discuss the issue of sovereignty over the archipelago.

Foreign Minister Dante Caputo said the decision was made after he met with Argentinean President Raul Alfonsín.

The Argentinean Foreign Ministry and Swiss Foreign Ministry in Bern could not confirm the report, saying they had not heard from negotiators.

Caputo said the meetings with the British were held at the invitation of the Swiss government, and that the meetings had an open agenda.

Caputo did not say if the suspension was permanent.

S. African boy, 14, found hanged in cell

PORT ELIZABETH, South Africa (Reuters). — A 14-year-old coloured (mixed race) boy was found hanged in a police cell on Wednesday, after being detained for alleged theft, a police spokeswoman said.

The boy's mother only learned of his detention and death from a journalist four hours after his body was discovered, the *Eastern Province Herald* reported.

He had been arrested following the theft of a bracelet worth 2.40 rand (\$1.60).

(Continued from Page One)

The police sharp shooter was able to pick the gunman off from the roof of a nearby post office as Huberty wandered through the bullet-riddled, blood-splattered restaurant.

"It's a slaughterhouse. They were just executed," said another police officer.

Authorities knew of no motive for the shootings.

The San Diego blood bank put out a plea yesterday for blood donors after its patients used 60 pints (3.2 litres).

Steve Gaytan, 21, who lives a

SS general who cheated hangman dead at 84

BONN (JTA). — A major Nazi war criminal and influential personality of the Third Reich, SS Gen. Karl Wolff, died in Germany. He was 84 years old.

Born in Darmstadt to a wealthy family, Wolff volunteered to fight in the German army during World War I. In 1931 he joined the Nazi party. He speedily rose to top positions in the apparatus which carried out the extermination of the Jews.

In 1933, Wolff became the personal aide of Heinrich Himmler, the SS commander, and in the same year was promoted to Himmler's bureau chief. In 1939, Wolff also became Himmler's liaison officer to Adolf Hitler.

In 1943, Wolff was nominated to

head the Gestapo in Italy, where he largely controlled the puppet regime of Mussolini, and was in charge of the deportation of Jews to concentration and death camps.

At the beginning of 1945, Wolff decided that Germany had lost the war and began seeking contacts with the Americans.

Wolff met in Zurich on March 8, 1945, with the then chief of American intelligence, Allan Dulles, and signed the capitulation of German Forces in the southern front. It became valid on April 29, one week before the end of the war in Europe.

The move spared Wolff from going on trial in Nuremberg for his part in killing Jews. In 1949, however, he was arrested by the British and

went on trial in Hamburg-Bergedorf. He drew a four-year sentence for complicity in the murder of Jews, but spent only one week in prison. It is widely believed that his behaviour toward the end of the war was again rewarded by the allies.

As the Federal Republic of Germany began to prosecute Nazi criminals, Wolff was again arrested in 1962, and went on trial in Munich in 1964. He was found guilty of complicity in the murder of 300,000 Jews in occupied Europe, and drew a 15-year prison term. After six years he was released, however, on grounds that he was unfit to be in detention because of his health.

Since 1968, Wolff lived in the town of Prien on Lake Chiem in Upper Bavaria.

Earth tremors hit parts of England, Ireland

LONDON (Reuters). — Two earth tremors rumbled across Wales, the northwest England and along the eastern Irish coast yesterday but nobody was reported injured, police said.

They were the biggest tremors for 20 years, according to officials at the British Geological Survey in Edinburgh.

Police said their lines were jammed by thousands of people reporting chimney pots tumbling, beds sliding around, cupboards rattling and some brief power cuts.

Some reports put the epicentre in the Irish Sea and the tremors were felt in Dublin and along other parts of the eastern Irish coast.

Britain's last major earthquake was 100 years ago at Colchester in eastern England, when buildings were damaged on April 22, 1884. But no one has been killed in a British quake in recorded history, according to Ian Mercer, a geologist at the Geological Museum in London.

U.S. firm fined on boycott charges

WASHINGTON (AP). — A Florida maker of building materials has agreed to pay \$7,500 to settle charges it violated U.S. export laws aimed at prohibiting American companies from cooperating with a boycott of Israel by Arab nations.

The Commerce Department announced Wednesday that Celotex Corp. of Tampa, Florida, agreed to pay the civil penalty without admitting or denying any wrongdoing.

It said the company's subsidiary, Celotex Ltd., "allegedly furnished six items of information to the Arab League about its business relationships with Israel and allegedly agreed to comply with the rules of the Arab boycott of Israel."

Under the Export Administration Act, U.S. companies are barred from engaging in restrictive trade practices and giving out information about their business dealings with boycotted countries or blacklisted people. They must also report promptly to the government any requests to do so.

Soviets execute corrupt food manager

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The former manager of Moscow's most prestigious food store has been executed following his conviction on charges of corruption, informed source said this week.

Yuri Sokolov, director of "Gastronom Number One" in Moscow's Gorky Street, was arrested in November 1982 during a drive against high-level corruption by Yuri Andropov, who became party leader that month.

Sokolov was convicted of involvement in bribe-taking and black-marketeering in food.

Gandhi shuffles her cabinet, takes Foreign Ministry post

NEW DELHI (AP). — Prime Minister Indira Gandhi shuffled her cabinet yesterday, assuming the foreign ministry post herself, and replacing her controversial home minister, in an apparent move to placate critics of the government's policy in strife-torn Punjab State.

Gandhi removed P.C. Sethi, a close associate who had served as home minister since September, 1982, and replaced him with P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Rao had been minister of external affairs, or head of the Foreign Ministry, for the past four years.

Government spokesmen said Gandhi would personally take charge of the foreign affairs portfolio as part of the reshuffle, while Sethi becomes minister of planning.

Opposition leaders and some of

the Indian media have demanded Sethi's resignation as home minister for failing to deal effectively with Sikh extremists in Punjab.

S.B. Chavan, the former planning minister, will become a minister without portfolio, the government said.

Gandhi said on Wednesday that the strict security would remain in effect in Punjab until the situation returned to "normalcy," and government spokesmen yesterday denied reports, attributed to a senior army commander in Amritsar, that a "phased withdrawal" of troops began yesterday.

The spokesman said there had been a "continuing process" of withdrawal for some time, but a total pull-out was out of the question while the threat of instability and violence existed.

\$1.3m. worth of heroin seized in Suez

SUEZ, Egypt (AP). — Police here yesterday arrested a Pakistani waiter trying to smuggle \$1.3 million worth of pure heroin through the Suez Canal to Greece.

Police officials said Omar Deraz-Khan, who worked as a waiter on the Pakistani boat Murree, was arrested while the ship waited for its turn to

enter the Suez Canal.

The officials said the heroin was found hidden in a secret compartment in Deraz-Khan's cabin. The ship itself was allowed to proceed through the canal as scheduled. The ship was coming from Karachi, Pakistan, and had already stopped in the Gulf states of Dubai and Oman.

U.S. authorities seize record amounts of drugs

WASHINGTON (AP). — The Reagan administration said on Wednesday that U.S. law enforcement officers seized record amounts of illegal narcotics being brought into the U.S. in the past year.

The statement, noting the establishment of a National Narcotics Border Interdiction System under the direction of Vice-President George Bush, said 4,000 people

were arrested on drug trafficking charges and 425 boats and 100 aircraft were seized.

In the southeastern U.S., where more than 70 per cent of cocaine and marijuana border seizures are made, cocaine seizures were up almost 200 per cent, and marijuana seizures rose over 100 per cent at Miami International Airport, the statement added.

NZ Labour tread warily over apartheid

WELLINGTON, New Zealand (AP). — The incoming government has ruled out any immediate action on a campaign pledge to close the South African consulate to protest Pretoria's white minority rule.

Prime minister-elect David Lange said on Wednesday his new government is too busy handling the country's economic crisis and the disagreement with the U.S. on a plan to limit or ban visits by U.S. warships. He indicated the matter would be considered later.

The South African consulate is not expecting any quick action, a spokesman said.

Jim Anderson, president of the

Labour Party, said earlier in the week that one of the new administration's first actions would be to close the consulate. Labour is strongly opposed to apartheid, he said.

New Zealand does not maintain a diplomatic office in South Africa. Meanwhile, outgoing Prime Minister Robert Muldoon apparently staved off a challenge to his leadership of the National Party yesterday by indicating he would soon step down.

Muldoon, who was defeated in general elections on Saturday after nine years in power, met with National Party members of Parliament to discuss the loss and what action should be taken.

China has 'no obligation' over Hongkong reform

PEKING (AP). — China said yesterday it has "no obligation" to honour a proposed government reorganization in Hongkong that would give residents of the British colony more democratic rights prior to the Chinese takeover in 1997.

The statement by the Foreign Ministry was a reaction to a plan

unveiled Wednesday in Hongkong by Governor Sir Edward Youde to create elected positions on the colony's law-and-policy-making bodies. All members are now appointed.

That plan is the result of growing demands for democracy by the territory's 5.5 million residents.

Sports

DAVIS CUP

Agony and ecstasy on the hard road to Moscow

By JACK LEON and YARON KENAN

RAMAT HASHARON. — The road to Moscow is paved with blood, sweat and tears. Both Israel's and Switzerland's Davis Cup tennis teams discovered that yesterday at the Israel Tennis Centre here as they battled their way to a 1-1 position at the end of an absorbing opening day of their European Zone "A" semi-final clash. The winners will advance to play the Soviet Union in the zone final in September.

After Shlomo Glickstein had played magnificently to defeat Heinz Gunthardt 6-3, 7-5, 6-3, Shahar Perkis was only three games away from giving Israel a decisive 2-0 lead. This was the fifth set of his 150-minute marathon contest against Jakob Hlasek, after the lanky 21-year-old Haifaite had looked down and out when trailing by two sets to none. But his tremendous comeback effort just failed at the post, as Prague-born Hlasek, 19, hung on bravely to edge home 6-4, 6-2, 3-6, 4-6, 6-3.

Perkis' final fling in the fifth set saw him recover from 0-3 to level at 3-3 in the twilight, and the feeling among the nearly 3,000 enthralled spectators at the local Israel Tennis Centre was that the outcome of the whole tie could well depend on whether he could go on to victory. He faltered and the result of the match now probably depends on today's doubles putting Perkis and Glickstein against the Gunthardt brothers.

When it was all over, a relieved Swiss coach Georges Deniau told us: "After this narrow escape, I am fairly confident that we can win the tie. Heinz Gunthardt now has the feel of the court, after having had little time to acclimatize following his late arrival from the Swiss Open at Gstaad. I am optimistic that he can win the doubles and that I can beat Perkis in the reverse singles on Saturday."

A delighted Shlomo Glickstein, however, felt that Israel could yet spring a surprise.

Under cover of an impressive sun hat, brim upturned, Glickstein effectively buried Gunthardt, the world's 30th ranked player with a masterly controlled display. His angles and length were perfection itself, he hit some stunning cross court drives, his first service was emphatic and above all marvellously consistent to provide a telling difference against the wiry Swiss.

There's a touch of the grizzled bear aroused from his hibernation about the Israeli champ. He lumbers about, sometimes with a slouch displaying a sense of nonchalance. But when probed he delivers ferocious returns, some in the form of growls.

Israel's women out of Federation Cup

Post Sports Staff

Israel's women tennis players took a drubbing from rated Yugoslavians who cruised past Israel into the quarter-finals of the Federation Cup tournament in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

The Yugoslavs set up a winning 2-0 lead when Mina Jausvec defeated Orly Bialostocki 6-3, 6-2 and Raketa Binyamin only just managed to avoid a whitewash 6-0, 6-1 at the hands of Sabrina Goles.

Yugoslavia are seeded seventh in the tournament, popularly known as the women's Davis Cup.

British Open

ST. ANDREWS, Scotland (AP). — Greg Norman of Australia, Peter Jacobsen of the U.S. and Britain's Bill Longmuir each fired a sizzling 5-under-par 67 to tie for the early lead when the 113th British Open Golf championship started here yesterday. With almost half the first round players back in the clubhouse, the three leaders had a two-stroke advantage over Tom Kite.

Defending champion Tom Watson was a further stroke behind on 70 but Jack Nicklaus, going for a third successive St. Andrews victory, had a disastrous day and finished with a 4 over par 76.

Gower buries troubles

LONDON (AP). — England skipper David Gower forgot about the nightmares of the cricket Test series against the West Indies as he scored 156 in the NatWest 60-over knock-out competition to lift Leicester into the quarter-finals.

against himself for a muffed shot but more pertinently in the way he crushes an unsuspecting opponent. He also developed of late a magnificent delicacy about his net shots. These stood him in good stead yesterday, during his consistent forays to the fore. He also covers court with amazing agility in a way that belies his burly frame.

Having needlessly dropped a service game early on he served right back, breakfasting on it, and then crashed through for a second break at 5-3 to wrap up the opening set.

The second set went with service to Glickstein. He made another break at 4-5 which he squandered. He made another however, in the final game of the set, by employing his brilliant top spin volley, a shot really ought to patent, to climb into what seemed an unscalable lead.

But even then, the tie was in no way decided. Gunthardt battled tenaciously and with conviction. The sweltering conditions, however, seemed to get the edge on him as he tried to crowd Glickstein's second serve. More often than not, the red-tinted forward march failed him and his drives went astray. Gunthardt showed on occasion a truly lethal forearm but Glickstein was too canny on the day to allow him the time and space to play it very often.

An intriguing struggle developed in the third set with both men fighting furiously to avoid the snuffing of their strength. When he broke at 4-3, Glickstein was too canny on the day to allow him the time and space to play it very often. An intriguing struggle developed in the third set with both men fighting furiously to avoid the snuffing of their strength. When he broke at 4-3, Glickstein was too canny on the day to allow him the time and space to play it very often. An intriguing struggle developed in the third set with both men fighting furiously to avoid the snuffing of their strength. When he broke at 4-3, Glickstein was too canny on the day to allow him the time and space to play it very often.

After what was surely one of Glickstein's most memorable performances in six years on the pro circuit, it was all the more disconcerting that Perkis started his match so haltingly. Perhaps the searing heat had something to do with that but he constantly hugged the baseline as the highly aggressive Hlasek grasped the opportunity presented by Perkis' reticence. He fought like a terrier for every point and Perkis self-confidence withered with his faltering first service, normally the linchpin of his game.

After there had been some excellent officiating in the opening rubber by Aharon Sapir, Perkis was not aided in his torment by some atrocious line-calling, underlined by acute hesitancy in the chair. This in turn egged the 2,500 crowd who had been extremely sporing in their backing of Glickstein to turn partisan in the second match.

Several times Perkis was leading 40-0 or 60-15 only to lose the game. Despite his early setbacks he demonstrated, however, that he has sterner reserves on which to draw. His excellent recovery was based on a thorough regrouping of his resources as he returned to his customary effective serve and volley game.

President Chaim Herzog, himself a keen tennis player, will be guest of honour at today's crucial doubles tie which starts after the official opening at 2 p.m. Israel TV will provide live coverage but keen fans should note that the relay begins at 3 p.m. only.

Brave rally

NEW YORK (AP). — Dale Murphy scored from first base on Ken Oberkfell's two-out double in the 10th inning as the Atlanta Braves rallied for a 3-2 victory on Wednesday night over the Montreal Expos in National League baseball action.

Bill Goldschmidt, 6-7, pitched a perfect game through six innings and was staked to a 2-0 margin on Gary Carter's two-run homer in the first. But Gerald Perry struck Goldschmidt first pitch in the seventh inning between first and second base for a single. Perry advanced to second on a groundout and scored when Charlie Williams singled. Atlanta tied the eighth when Murphy opened up with a left-center hit. He scored on Alex Trevino's single.

Goldschmidt retired the first two batters in the 10th before Murphy lined a single to left. Oberkfell followed with a bounce that seemed to have been a grounder but could not be fielded in short right field. When Flynn retrieved the ball and threw in second, trying to get Oberkfell, Murphy dashed home with the winning run.

National League: Chicago 4, San Diego 2; Atlanta 3, Montreal 2, 10 innings; Pittsburgh 5, Los Angeles 2; Philadelphia 7, Cincinnati 2; St. Louis 8, San Francisco 4, 11 innings; New York 3, Houston 1.

American League: New York 3, Texas 1; Oakland 7, Boston 2; Milwaukee 5, Seattle 2; Chicago 10, Detroit 6; Minnesota 3, Baltimore 1; Cleveland 2, Kansas City 1; Toronto 8, California 2.

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CALIFORNIA RESTAURANT MASSACRE

(Continued from Page One)

The police sharp shooter was able to pick the gunman off from the roof of a nearby post office as Huberty wandered through the bullet-riddled, blood-splattered restaurant.

"It's a slaughterhouse. They were just executed," said another police officer.

Authorities knew of no motive for the shootings.

The San Diego blood bank put out a plea yesterday for blood donors after its patients used 60 pints (3.2 litres).

Steve Gaytan, 21, who lives a

block from the brick-and-stucco restaurant, ran there after he heard the shooting.

"The guy was shooting at anything that moved — inside, outside, it didn't matter," Gaytan said. "Ten minutes didn't go by that the guy didn't fire a shot."

Phil Moonjean, a nurse with the Life Flight Helicopter Service and a Vietnam veteran, said it "was carnage — bodies behind the counter, customers lying under the tables, slumped over tables. It was just like Vietnam."

About 1,000 onlookers, standing six and seven deep in places, were kept a block from the restaurant

during the 90-minute siege.

One of the first officers on the scene said a woman ran toward him carrying a wounded baby girl who had blood streaming from her head.

The child apparently was not hers — the wounded baby had been passed into the arms of onlookers by another woman, one of the shooting victims, who begged the strangers to "take care of her," witnesses said.

The unidentified 6-month-old was in critical condition after surgery to remove shotgun pellets Wednesday night at a San Diego hospital.

"There was an old woman slumped in one of the booths, and a man about 30 who was shot as he ate in a booth, with his food still in front of him," a police officer told reporters outside the restaurant, which is about two kilometres from the Mexican border.

"There were teen-age boys with

their dinners half eaten on the table."

The dead were carried out by ashen-faced emergency workers, and coroner's vans worked late into the evening. Hundreds of people waited anxiously behind police lines, many hoping to learn whether relatives or friends were among the victims.

Bodies outside the restaurant were covered with yellow sheets. A small boy lay dead on the pavement, his body tangled in his bicycle.

The worst previous one-day murder rampage by a lone person in the U.S. occurred August 1, 1966. Sharpshooter Charles Whitman killed 16 people and wounded 30 others in a 96-minute rampage atop a tower at the University of Texas campus in Austin. The night before, the 24-year-old

KEEPING HIS HEAD DOWN

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal



Nissim Baruch



Simcha Dinitz



Uri Porat



Abba Eban



Ephraim Evron

ONE PERSON who has not yet appeared on the Likud's election broadcasts is Nissim Baruch, the director-general of the Finance Ministry. Baruch got the job in late spring, after Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Or had to find a replacement for Dr. Ezer Weizman, who resigned in a storm of protest. Baruch was brought over from the office of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, where the Herut loyalist was serving as the PM's economic adviser.

The move, it is now considered even in Likud circles, was a mistake, particularly in an election year. Baruch is open to criticism on two counts. The first is the juicy commission he got for his part in the Rascos sale, from the Jewish Agency (and chairman Arye Dutzin) to a group headed by Economics Minister Ya'acov Meridor. The second is Baruch's choice as the Treasury (and Likud) man in the sensitive negotiations with the Civil Servants' Union. I gather that both Shamir and Cohen-Or had been aware of a judgement seven years ago, in which Jerusalem Magistrate Dan Bein wrote that Baruch "is a man who likes quarreling, tends to angry outbursts, and makes open and implied threats towards all who do not accept his views." Baruch, said Bein, "behaves towards others overbearingly." The ruling came in a dispute Baruch had with a Jerusalem building contractor.

NOR HAS BARUCH gotten full exposure on the TV news. Broadcasting Authority director-General Uri Porat recently vetoed an interview in which Baruch would have discussed Baruch's performance. The item could not appear on *Mabat*, said Porat, because it "lacked news value."

THE BELATED REVELATION that Defence Minister Moshe Arens got \$1,000 a month from the government, for upkeep of his Savoy home, while he was ambassador to Washington, also caused something of a furor. Two previous envoys — Haifa University president Ephraim (Egpy) Evron, and Hebrew University vice-president Simcha Dinitz — pointed out that the payment was a serious breach of Foreign Ministry regulations.

IN THESE inflationary times, it is difficult to know how much money

to keep in one's pocket. But that's no problem for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. In an election-year interview with *La'isha*, Shamir told the woman's magazine that "I never carry any cash. I'm taken to and from home, so I never need it. Sometimes I take an interest in prices, but it would not be true to say that I worry about them all the time."

The Premier also said that "my small stature does not bother me. I have pity for those who mock me."

WELCOME HOME DEPT. Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, absent for most of the campaign, was back in Israel this week, just in time to make an appearance at the Likud's Kikar Mahalé Yisrael Tel Aviv campaign rally.

THRUST AND PARRY. Liberal Minister of Tourism Avraham (Abrasha) Sharir dismissed the idea that his party might switch to a Labour-led coalition, saying that "the Liberals are not prostitutes." That prompted a sharp comment from Shiniui's Amnon Rubinstein. "Sharir is right," said Rubinstein. "A prostitute is a hard-working woman who gives value for the money she gets."

LOST AND FOUND. Don't think that the Liberals, including Knesset Law Committee chairman Eliezer Kalus and Minister without Portfolio Sara Doron, are the only ones who have disappeared during the election campaign. Labour has not had the services of the no. 16 on its list, Tel Aviv branch head Eliahu Speiser, who says back trouble has kept him off the hustings. While Speiser stays home, playing chess and listening to records, district campaign managers Dov Ben-Meir and Asher (Arthur) Ben-Natan have been complaining loudly.

In the National Religious Party, the missing man is MK Avraham Melamed, off on a mysterious foreign mission.

DIRTY TRICKS DEPT. An angry audience of 100 was kept waiting for Labour speaker Asher Ben-Natan, who was due to address an AACI pre-election meeting in Netanya. Ben-Natan never showed up, and the next day Labour HQ claimed that someone called to say that the meeting had been cancelled. While Labour cries "foul," we can't help wondering why no one called back to double-check.

MORE DIPLOMACY. France's envoy in Israel, Jacques Dupont, and his wife, Marie-Paule, had to delay Bastille Day for 24 hours this year, since July 14 fell on the Sabbath. The ambassador's annual party was held on Sunday, with a champagne garden party.

While most politicians were out campaigning, a few dropped by to pay respects — including Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres and his list's no. 2, Yitzhak Navon. Others attending included Knesset Speaker Menahem Seidov, Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe (and-a-half) Levy, Eli Hurwitz, the president of the Manufacturers Association; Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel; and Dov Ben-Meir, the deputy mayor to Tel Aviv.

More ambassadors than usual were at the midsummer event, apparently because of the elections. Apart from the elections, the main topic of conversation was the rumour that Syrian President Hafez al-Assad might make a Lebanon deal with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir before Election Day next Monday.

FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT Jimmy Carter has a dream "to enable Israel to prosper in peace and security and fulfil the Camp David process." He told this to Wall Street lawyer and New York delegate, Leon Charney at a big party that Charney, a close party ally of New York Governor Mario Cuomo hosted at the opening of the democratic National Convention in San Francisco. This information reached

me in a trans-continental phone call from Charney, a member of the pivotal convention Rules Committee, who is in the unique position of being involved in party activities in the U.S. and Israel. Charney, you'll recall, is the U.S. fund-raiser for Ezer Weizman's Yabadi.

FAMOUS FACE. The focus of attention at the pre-election dinner party, given by Zalman and Kena Shoval on the roof-garden of their luxurious Tel Aviv penthouse, was Sylvia Raphael Schoedt. Raphael, who hit the headlines in the mid-Seventies for her involvement in the Lilienhammer affair, visited Israel with her husband (and defence attorney in the Norwegian trial) Annus Schoedt.

Top subject of conversation was naturally the elections, are not only because the host is No. 2 on Yigal Hurwitz's Ometz list. Guests filled out an election pools form.

When someone asked Jewish Agency/World Zionist Organization chairman Arye Dutzin about his wife Annette's active role in the Labour campaign, he produced this good-natured answer: "It's all right. I'm voting Likud, so we are cancelling each other out."

MAZAL TOV DEPT. Pierre Yazbeck, the Lebanese Forces' representative in Jerusalem, was not available this week when reporters sought his comments on the impending closure of the Israeli office in Beirut. Yazbeck and his bride Katya were in Eilat on their honeymoon. The two Beirutis were wed Sunday at the Maronite Convent in the Old City. Among the guests at the wedding were David Kimche, director-general of the Foreign Ministry; FM staffers Yitzhak Lior and Alon Liel other Israeli friends, and a number of Lebanese friends and relatives.

JERUSALEM VETERANS Rachel and Zvi Schwartz, both in their late 80s, last week-end cele-

brated their 69th wedding anniversary in the Herzliya home of their daughter Ruth Dayan together with their other daughter Reuma Weizman and her husband Ezer. Mrs. Schwartz still drives her own car from Jerusalem. She was the first woman in Mandatory Palestine to obtain a driving licence in the early 20's. I gather that when she bought her new Daihatsu from the car agency owned by son-in-law, Ezer, Mrs. Schwartz refused to have an air-conditioning unit installed. It made her uncomfortable, she complained.

THE ELECTION campaign came to a virtual standstill Tuesday night when *Yedioth Aharonot* publisher and

editor Noah Mozes and Paula Mozes gave a reception at Beit Sokolov to celebrate the birth of their grand-daughter Hadass, daughter of their son Nomi (Arnon) and Michal Mozes. There was a mingling of leading candidates of most parties as Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres had a friendly chat with Ezer Weizman about the latter's chances at the polls next Monday — a matter that could be decisive for the next coalition.

President Chaim Herzog, on the last day of his vacation, headed the list of celebrities which included a number of cabinet ministers, prominent Knesset Members from both Likud and Labour, ambassadors and Israel's leading bankers and businessmen.

U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis was assured by former prime minister Menachem Begin's faithful confidant, Yehiel Kadishai, that the Likud would also form the next government, a notion that was doubted even by some of the miffed faithful Likud-Herut leaders present. Eliahu Ben-Eliass, a prominent Number 11 on the Likud Knesset list, thought that a broad Likud-Labour coalition was inevitable, despite the present differences. "We could agree on a coalition platform in no time," he said.

To give the reception a popular touch, Mozes also invited all his press workers and administrative staff, in addition to journalists from *Yedioth* and other papers. Histadrut Secretary-General Israel Keshar made it a point to stop by in between election speeches to rub shoulders with *Yedioth*'s printers.

SHIMON PERES took an evening off last week to attend the Israeli premiere of the new film *Sakharov* in which Jason Robards, plays the title role of Andrei Sakharov and Glenda Jackson stars as his wife Yelena Bonner. Peres praised the share of French communications magnate Jean Frydman in making the production of the film possible.

Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset

Notice regarding the freedom, secrecy and honesty of the elections

Pursuant to para. 16 of the Election Law (Electoral Methods) 1959, the Chairman of the Central Elections Committee brings to the notice of the public the fact that elections to the Knesset are free and secret. Every citizen is entitled to vote freely and according to his conscience alone for one of the lists of candidates that have been approved for the elections for the Eleventh Knesset.

The Central Elections Committee has taken every appropriate step to ensure the secrecy of the elections, to prevent any possibility of discovering how a citizen voted.

These are the principal methods:

The envelope in which the voter places his ballot card is completely opaque and may be sealed by the voter.

Every electioneering booth will be provided with a curtain to guarantee the voter absolute privacy.

The voter, and only the voter, is entitled to place his/her ballot card in the envelope and the closed envelope in the ballot box where it is mixed up together with the envelopes of the other voters in the same area. But a person that is sick or disabled, and is unable to vote unaided, may bring another person with him, to provide physical aid.

The Law provides serious penalties for acts of bribery, or threats in connection with the elections, for disturbance of the elections, and for voting not according to the provisions of the Law.

Five years imprisonment or a fine of IS 3,000,000 or both may be imposed on anyone who gives or offers a bribe to a voter, in order to influence how he votes; on anyone who accepts or agrees to accept a bribe, in connection with how he will vote; on anyone who threatens a voter with damage if he votes, or alternatively, if he does not vote; on anyone who promises a voter work, or threatens him with dismissal, in order to influence him to vote for any particular list.

Two years' imprisonment or a fine of IS 25,000 or both may be imposed on whoever disturbs the normal conduct of the elections in any way or who presents to a voting-station committee a voter's card or identity card which is not his/her, or who attempts to vote more than once.

I am sure that the provisions of the Law and the arrangements of the Central Elections Committee are sufficient to ensure that every citizen may vote freely, according to his will and conscience.

I call on all voters to use their right to vote, I call on all voters to cast their vote, in accordance with their own choice, and without fear of any kind.

Gavriel Bach, Judge of the Supreme Court
Chairman, Central Elections
Committee for the Eleventh Knesset

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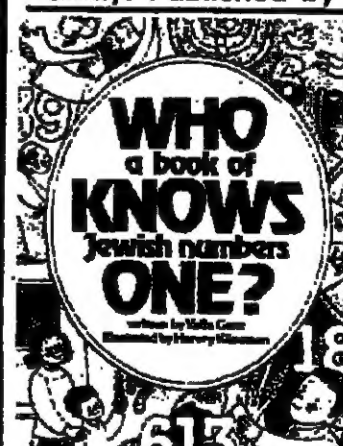
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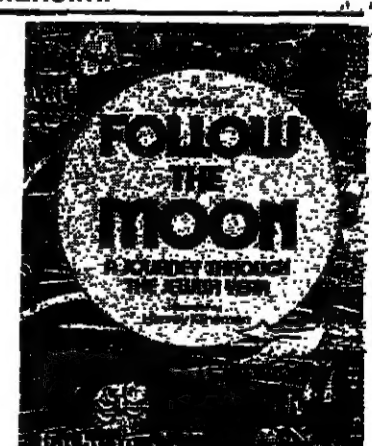


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Focus

FORMER president Yitzhak Navon says he is far too busy thinking about winning next Monday's election to spare time for formulating detailed policies in the event of the Alignment's heading the next government.

Navon, a former chief aide to the late premier David Ben-Gurion, and a former chairman of the prestigious Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, is the accepted Alignment candidate for foreign minister, though he does not say so.

Until recently he used to confer with experts outside the civil service whose views on Middle East and world affairs he respects most highly.

And in his contacts with foreign personalities, he has been accustomed to clarifying the Alignment position on such controversial issues as its attitude to the PLO.

"Last time I met French president Francois Mitterrand I told him, as I told his Socialist colleagues, that there should be no illusions about the Alignment's changing its mind about the PLO in the event of its forming the next coalition," Navon said in an interview with *The Post* this week.

"There should be no illusions about Israel, under Labour, holding negotiations with the PLO," he continued.

"The PLO has not erased its plank about putting an end to the Zionist entity, and what Yasser Arafat is still telling his followers is no different from what is written in their Palestine Covenant. Arafat tells them to this day that the aim is to liberate Jerusalem and Acre and Galilee and Haifa and all the homeland, and that is the nature of his commitment to his men."

"Never mind what Arafat whispers into the ears of Bruno Kreisky and other personalities from abroad. All my long experience has proved to me that what Arab leaders say in their own language to their people at home is their true intention," Navon emphasized.

Turning to the chilly relations between Israel and Egypt, Navon advocated solving bilateral problems first, before worrying about issues like the autonomy talks on the future of Judea and Samaria.

"I mean the Camp David site near Rafiah and the normalization agreements we signed, I have my ideas, but I have no interest in going into them here because the issues are a matter for negotiations; and in any case I won't jump the gun. I hold no portfolio."

"I believe we can improve our relations with Egypt a great deal," he added gravely. "One of the elements in our overall relationship is the pace of our withdrawal from Lebanon, which plays a role, at least in the Egyptian psyche. The faster with Egypt can be thawed out. It is possible to make our relations with Egypt meaningful, vital and substantial."

NAVON RECALLED that there had been some suspicion in Egypt before the IDF completed its withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula, that Israel would not go through with it.

"Some Egyptians speculated that we might hand back only two-thirds of Sinai; some pointed to statements by Israeli cabinet ministers like Ariel Sharon that 'We still have an option open if Egypt doesn't do one thing or another'; and some said they were worried that Israel had no intention of carrying out its signed commitments," he said.

"But after the Yamit episode when they saw we meant what we said, our relations with Egypt reached a friendly peak. Over 2,000 Egyptians attended the Yom Ha'atzmaut reception given by our ambassador in Cairo - the cream of Cairo society."

"They said: 'Now we know you really want peace.' But a few weeks later, the war in Lebanon turned everything upside down. Not so much in the first phase, when we explained we were waging a limited operation, to give Galilee protection against terrorism. The first Egyptian reactions were restrained. But when we got to Beirut and the bombing and everything began, there was a very strong reaction in Egypt."

Navon believes that the extended campaign in Lebanon served as proof for those Egyptians who were hesitant about Israel's peaceful intentions, that Israel was exploiting the peace with Egypt in order to attack another Arab state.

"I believe the government did not pay enough attention to the political implications in its decision about the operation in Lebanon. We gave up so much for peace - the Sinai, the airfields, the oil - that the government might have been expected to weigh up the effects on the peace of our war in Lebanon."

Navon pointed out that the Egyptian media then went again to all the anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic sentiments they used to express before the peace. They said Israel's air raids against targets in civilian areas expressed a murderous streak in the Jewish personality, he recalled. They again talked about Israel being the "cancer in the heart of the Arab world."

"We were back where we started, if not worse off," Navon said.

AFTER THE expulsion of Yasser Arafat from Tripoli, some Egyptians explained that Arafat's reception by President Hosni Mubarak was intended to win the PLO chief over to a moderate line, Navon said. "But the result could easily be the opposite. Arafat got a platform in Egypt to propagate his views and he called on Egypt to abrogate Camp David. He acquired a new status in Egypt. And he offered Egypt a new legitimacy."

"I would not make a special fuss about the Egyptian ambassador's retreating to Tel Aviv before there could be a thaw in relations. Their ambassador could quite easily come back without the chill vanishing; and, conversely, our relations could acquire content even

without the presence of the ambassador. Of course, his return would be a symbol, but that symbol, for me, is not a flag I would hoist in my campaign for better ties. An ambassador's presence is important but not essential. The point is that they have their charge d'affaires."

Referring to other symbolic flags which he does not consider essential, Navon recalled the Likud government's insistence at one time on holding the talks with Lebanon in Beirut and in Jerusalem. "The government dropped its demand and the talks were held in places like Kiryat Shmona and Khaldie instead. For me, some things are substantial and some things are marginal," he said.

To express his rule in Middle Eastern form, Navon, who is at home in several Arabic dialects as well as the literary language, quoted the Arabic proverb about two men who went

foraging in somebody else's vineyard. "There was a watchman in the vineyard. One of the two men said: 'First let's get rid of the watchman.' But the other replied with a question: 'Biddak l'et el-natur wa la u'kul el-enab?' Do you want to squabble with the watchman or eat the grapes?"

"What I mean is we have to get down to brass tacks. We have to be practical and make less of a fuss about trifles."

Navon believes that once Israel and Egypt have successfully tackled the bilateral matters on their agenda, they can carry on to subjects such as autonomy.

He recalled that at the last meeting between Israeli and Egyptian delegates in Washington, the Israeli side presented what he described as "rather interesting proposals more or less amounting to concessions."

He continued: "I don't know why we acted as we did at that time. The Egyptians listened to our proposals and then halted the process. That was before the U.S. presidential elections. They thought they would carry on after the elections."

NAVON WENT into some detail about the difference between the Likud and the Alignment with regard to Jordan.

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STYLE AND SUBSTANCE

By ASHER WALLFISH / Jerusalem Post Reporter



'I favour the iron fist inside the velvet glove and not the iron glove covering a flabby fist'

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Festival of festivals

By HELGA DUDMAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter

for tourism, with only an occasional surge.

Present conceptualizations, as they say, can discourage dollar-earning tourism, especially to a place like Tiberias. Internal tourism is rather like one of those mythical lizards eating its own tail, on an imported tile floor. ("Ah, but it keeps them from going abroad!" "Ah, but where do you think they're going after their two weeks in Tiberias?")

And as I write this, the internationally famous "Wall of Death," with dare-devil motorcycle acrobats from Europe, is about to open in the Amusement park, curiously located between the Plaza and Galei Kinneret hotels. How foolish when any Israeli motorist could out-perform any one of them with no practice at all.

I WALKED through part of the Kinneret Festival one evening with a 10-year-old girl, who was disappointed that there were no clowns where we happened to stroll. (The festival's schedule is printed in such tiny type, which assumes you have

the brightly glittering eyes of an eager rodent, while your ears have been deafened for survival in many discos.) The child does not yet know that it's not the make-up that makes the clown, nor the clever way he falls on his head.

Nor was she amused, as I was, by the huge red flags billowing over the streets of Tiberias in honour of the festival; for while this is Gashash-country, it's also predominantly Likud land. At any rate, we did see a brass band of young musicians at the new "Cafeteria of Tverya," at post-Gashash prices, on the promenade near the Plaza Hotel, while in the lobby a chamber-music duo played away with absolutely nobody listening, not even a stray waiter.

We watched artists hanging up paintings in the wind (nice and no amplifier) in the very picturesque Dona Gracia quarter, while nearby a choral group sang songs of Eretz Yisrael, aided by a 1200 stereo mixer. The atmosphere was very cheerful, if a bit along the lines of Shaikhe Ophir's also classic chorus practice.

A Likud bus was parked near the Crusader-like ruins, with its home address clearly marked: Rehov Jabotinsky, Ramat Gan. Residents of this area tell me that after the festival amplifiers finish their work, often well past midnight, the Don Gracia restaurant starts up its amplifier.

The most popular concerts are the "big" ones at the beach down at Hanezi Tverya. But a teen-age neighbour said to me, "What I liked best was the peaceful and tranquil atmosphere of the concerts in the garden of the Scottish Hospice." Well, well.

The admirably but ironically named "Quiet Beach," near the Scottish Hospice, is mad at the "Blue Beach" because the latter's discotheque is bothering the "quiet people."

There are laws against all this, but

nobody cares. There was even a little organization, years ago, called *Mal-raz* - the Council for the Prevention of Noise and Air Pollution. Not a peep has been heard from them recently, which is not surprising considering the enveloping din and lawlessness. What I remember is that its director was a red-hot Herutnik - back in the pre-Herut-clout days.

The Second law of noise dynamics: those who like loud music are incapable of hearing it, while those who loathe it hear it perfectly. A corollary: in pre-disco days, you used to hear your own car radio. Now you no longer can - it's drowned out. What in the world was meant by that Simon and Garfunkel song "Sounds of Silence"?

The event I most enjoyed at the Kinneret Festival was an informal evening concert given in the lobby of the new Club Hotel by *Sfar HaAgam* (Lake Shore), a local folk-song quartet with a wide repertoire of songs, guitars, banjos, and the like. I adored it not just because they sing well and transmit their enjoyment to the audience. No - that evening held a very special magic.

What was it? The microphones and amplifier didn't work! Can you imagine! Yes, after about half an hour of fiddling around by several clever men with kilometres of wire and an ominous black organ box, the concert was held *au naturel*! Wonderful! Just as folk songs were meant to be sung! And the acoustics were quite OK, give or take the occasional clack-clack of high-heels-under-outrills across the polished floor.

In spite of all this, I left very early. Why? Because I knew that, with this concert in the lobby, there was a chance that there would be no disco outside. And I didn't want to miss a moment's silence!

And so as we come to the end of this unforgettable season of festivals, let us recall that bad Nero fiddled while Rome burned. But it can't have been too bad for too many, because this was before loudspeakers.

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TZAMERET BAVLI THE SALE HAS BEGUN!



50% discount for the first 5 flats

IN THE LATE spring and early summer of 1983, the banks were being forced to buy back so many of their own shares that their "warehouses" were bursting at the seams. There was a clear trend of steady selling from both individuals and corporations, and the value of the accumulated shares soon neared the billion-dollar level. Buying-in the shares and holding them cost the banks very large sums, firstly, by tying up assets that had better alternative uses, and even more painfully, by pulling them into huge liquidity deficits on which they paid hefty fines to the Bank of Israel.

That the regulation system was coming under increasing stress was plain to everyone in the banks, the central bank and the professional staff at the Treasury. Both the new examiner of banks, Galia Maor, and the new controller of the capital markets, Yehuda Droni, prepared internal papers to their superiors, the governor of the Bank of Israel and the finance minister respectively, outlining surprisingly similar proposals for a gradual, government-supported weaning from the regulation drug on which the banks were hooked. Nothing came of them, because the Bank of Israel was now an economic neuter, and the Treasury was afraid to do anything that might endanger the policy of "correct economics."

Outside analysts were not unaware of the growing crisis, either. Many professional consultants and brokers got their clients out of their holdings of bank shares in the course of the summer and early autumn. But the general public, whose primary and often sole source of information and advice was the local bank branch, knew almost nothing. Those who asked questions were soothed by the reassuring answers that the advisers and branch managers continued to churn out — under instructions from head office — until the very end. In at least one major bank, investment advisers meeting in early October, just days before the final collapse, were told by the head of the securities department (a deputy general manager of the bank) that they could assure their customers that there was no chance of the bank's ceasing its support of its shares.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE of the collapse of the bank shares was the foreign currency crisis that developed from July onwards. This in turn was the inevitable outcome of the 5 per cent-a-month policy for price rises and the concurrent deliberate holding back of the rate of fall of the shekel against the dollar. This policy was invented by Yakir Plessner, planted in the Bank of Israel by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor with the title of deputy governor, and was enthusiastically promoted by Aridor himself. As time passed and the promised fall in the rate of inflation failed to appear, the public moved to call Aridor's bluff. Since the shekel would have to be devalued by a large amount soon-

er or later, intelligent citizens began showing up in banks in increasing numbers, buying the \$3,000 in cash that they were then permitted by law.

By July this had become a serious problem, and in early August very heavy pressure to devalue was brought to bear on Aridor. However, he passed the buck to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, fearing that a change of course would be seen as an admission of the failure of his policies. Begin eventually plumped for a small devaluation of 7.5 per cent. Had he accepted the professionals' urgings for a 20-30 per cent adjustment, the run on foreign currency would probably have ended and the pressure on the bank shares have eased. The time thus bought could have been used to find a sensible solution to the problem.

For the end of the regulation system was then a matter of "when" and "how", rather than "if." The discrepancy between the bloated and artificial value given by the manipulated market to the bank shares compared to their true worth, based on asset value, would eventually have brought the demise of the regulation caper. But Aridor's stubbornness in facing the unpleasant facts and his achievement in surrounding himself with cowering yes-men, meant that no reforms that did not tie in with the finance minister's ideas could be considered.

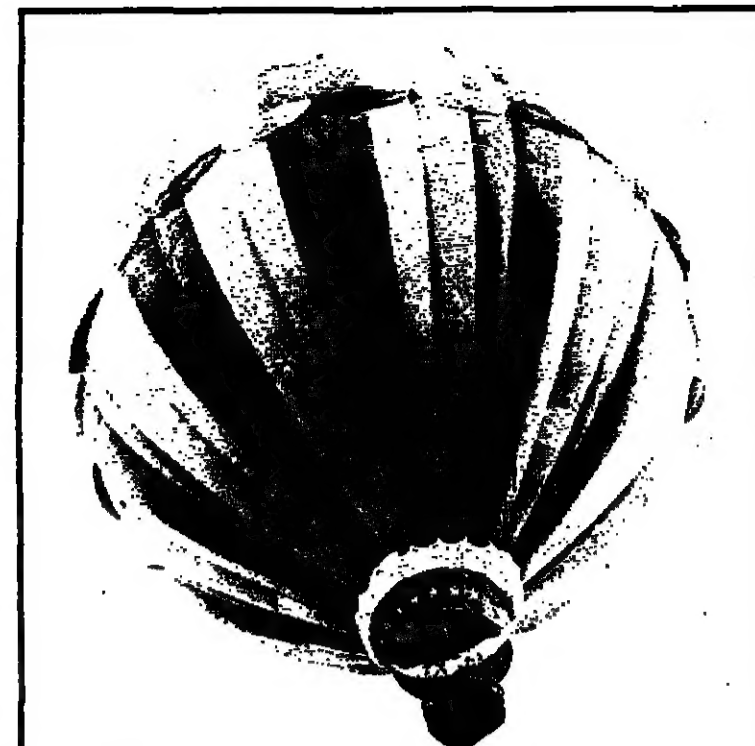
We now know that he was consumed with the idea of "dollarization" as the catch-all solution to the economy's ills. Other problems, including that of the bank shares were regarded as passing concerns, to be tackled on an ad hoc basis, if they couldn't be put on ice.

THE BANK SHARE-foreign currency situation was too hot to be put on ice. Through September, a month of festivals and usually dull from a business viewpoint, the tidal wave gained momentum. The bankers and the senior government officials flew off to Washington to join other men in pin-striped suits discussing the debt crisis in South America. But back home, impatient Israelis jostled in unruly queues, seeking to turn their shekel assets into dollars. The primary shekel asset in the country was the bank share.

Each time a new economic statistic was published, whether it concerned inflation, the balance of payments, the foreign currency reserves or the I.M.F. report on the Israeli economy, the scale of the flight from the shekel increased. From daily purchases of a few million dollars, the hysteria succeeded in swelling the amounts to 10 million, then tens of millions, and finally 60-80 million dollars a day. Since most of this was in cash, the banks were forced to import vast quantities of dollar bills from Switzerland to meet the public's demand.

Simultaneously, they borrowed huge sums abroad to enable themselves to grant loans to their allied and subsidiary companies, for the purpose of buying up the unpre-

Apocalypse now!



POST MORTEM The last in a series of articles on Israel's 'Boursamania' by the Post's PINHAS LANDAU

cedently large offers of bank shares that appeared on the market every day. In the last days of September and early October, they borrowed \$800m. to keep the regulation alive and prevent a collapse.

The bankers now saw that the game had been played out. Since their pleas for an immediate large devaluation were falling on deaf ears and the Bank of Israel's influence on the Treasury was almost zero, they turned for help to a political figure. Avraham Shapira, Agudat Yisrael Knesset member, chairman of the coalition, became the go-between for the banks to Aridor.

Aridor had returned on September 30, rejected the urgent importations of his senior aides to devalue forthwith, and made an infamous television appearance on the evening of Tuesday, October 4, in which he said there would be no devaluation; he put the blame for the panic on the media and the public, and gave reporter Haim Plattner a vicious tongue-lashing for suggesting any possible fault in the government and its policies.

THE ISRAELI PUBLIC watched

this performance in disbelief, and responded accordingly. The selling of bank shares and the buying of dollars on the Thursday reached a frenzied pitch that surpassed all that had gone before. It proved to be the last round, the knock-out blow that finished the old regulation system.

At meetings between the heads of the banks, the senior officials of the Treasury and the central bank and the now-omnipresent Shapira, which were held on Thursday, through the night and into Friday almost until Shabbat, a plan was formulated which would save the banks and end the crisis. It came to be known as the *hesder* (the arrangement), and the bewildered and frightened citizens first heard of it on the seven o'clock news broadcast on that Friday evening of October 7, 1983.

The brief announcement only said that the government and the banks had reached an arrangement regarding the problem of the bank shares, whereby the government would guarantee to redeem the shares from their holders in five years' time. All the details, including the form of indexation to be used, price index or dollar; the interest to be paid;

whether the shares held by the banks and their subsidiaries would be included — all these and many other points were not made clear at that stage — they would emerge only over the next days and weeks, as the sketchy ideas that formed the basis of the arrangement were fleshed out by the legal and economic advisers of the various parties.

At the end of a two-week period in which the stock market was shut down completely and the entire commercial life of the country put in suspended animation, the arrangement had been cobbled together. Without fully realizing the extent of what it was letting itself in for, the government had committed itself to buying all the bank shares, in the hands of the public on October 6, at their full dollar value as of that date, with a small interest addition, after a period of five years. Pensioners would be allowed to redeem their holdings after two years, and anyone wishing to freeze their shares in a closed quasi-savings scheme for four or six years would receive a correspondingly higher return.

These terms were designed to wipe 15 per cent off the pre-arrangement value of the shares. In fact, so great was the loss of faith in the banking system on the part of the public, that when the bourse did finally reopen, the market fell apart completely. Events came tumbling breathlessly on top of each other: a 23-per cent devaluation and huge price hikes in basic commodities; the resignation of Aridor, following the premature leaking of the "dollarization" scheme and the eventual installation of Yigal Cohen-Orad as his replacement, because no-one else could be persuaded to take the job.

The bank shares suffered greater selling pressure than ever, although this time the main forces motivating the sales were panic among individuals and the burning need for working capital in the corporate sector. Now it was the Bank of Israel that was forced to buy up the offers. And in the course of three months, the central bank spent well over half a billion dollars soaking up bank shares — now in the guise of government bonds — as well as further large sums supporting regular government index-linked bonds.

REGULATION is dead — long live regulation. That seems to be the first lesson that the arrangement taught the bourse. Instead of the banks burning their depositors' money by forcing up their share prices to unreal levels, it was and is the government that is burning the taxpayer's money in following through on its commitment to buy these same shares at lower, but still bloated prices. The banks borrowed and reached the edge of failure; the government simply prints the money it needs, and the result is hyperinflation and the gradual choking of economic growth and viability, as well as the social side-effects of the erosion in the value and stability of money.

The open-ended policy of supporting the bond market, now with the extra burden of the bank shares, is a basic article of belief in the Bank of Israel. However, outside observers, including at least two past examiners of banks, have attacked it on both tactical and theoretical considerations. It is the last major manipulation. The fact that it is practised by the government itself, with all the resources at its disposal (primarily the ability to print apparently infinite sums), does not mean that it is invulnerable. The government is also ultimately answerable if not to the Israeli public — which seems not to care about the long-term effects — then to the foreign banks and the U.S. government, which is the lender of last resort for the Israeli economy. If these external parties get tired of seeing their money thrown away on maintaining the *dolce vita* for the Israeli citizenry, they will blow the whistle on us, sooner rather than later.

Swapping government manipulation for private-enterprise manipulation is not the only ironic outcome of the arrangement. The fact that the government will probably be forced to implement its guarantee and acquire the banks' shares will not give them control of the banks. In the peculiar structure ownership tolerated in the Tel Aviv bourse, the fact that one holds almost all the equity of Bank Leumi, or Hapoalim or Mizrahi does not give ownership. This is vested in a few special "founders shares," which have 50 per cent of the voting rights at all times, and are in the hands of the Jewish Agency, Hefrat Ha'ovdim and the world Mizrahi movement respectively.

BUT WHAT IS far more serious than all this is the sheer magnitude of the obligation which the government so lightly assumed (see table). The demands for a commission of inquiry into the bank share debacle have faded recently, but they may well revive when the long-term impact of the disaster emerges more clearly, over the next 12 to 18 months. The truth about what happened in those months, weeks and days of impending and actual crisis, and the incredible sloppiness with which the arrangement was put together, has

not been examined systematically. The amount that is known, however, makes it easy to understand why the government would be in no hurry to have the whole truth emerge. The opposition may be wary of having the whole issue tied up with the Ya'acov Levinson affair, which is really a quite separate, though overlapping, matter.

Apart from selfish interest, what they are really afraid of is that the Israeli banking system will emerge so badly from the inquiry that foreign depositors will finally lose faith and flee — something that was feared, but did not happen, in late 1983. The solution is therefore to sweep the dirt under the carpet and hope that the banks will somehow succeed in pulling themselves back into shape. This is a vain hope, according to analyses of the problem by both university professors and economic consultants. Even the latest report of the examiner of banks indicates a very real possibility of the banks failing to reach the degree of profitability needed to prevent a government takeover.

The collapse of the bank shares is not history. Its effects are still being felt; in many respects they are only just beginning to come through. If there is indeed a recession in the coming months, it will be partly a result of what happened to the bank shares. It will also be more difficult to repair the damage. There is a real danger of interlinked factors pulling the economy into a vicious circle of contraction, hyperinflation and unemployment.

The resolution of these problems will not be achieved by pretending that everything is fine or that quick, easy, painless answers are readily at hand, awaiting implementation by the right people. The solutions must be painful for a populace that is used to being given whatever it wants.

It is not inevitable, as some would have us believe, that we must put our house in order, and that any government will do what has to be done. If the next government is weak, the drift to disaster will continue, and the dirt under the carpet will mount higher, until it becomes difficult to walk on. All our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death. Tomorrow could be different. We shall know soon enough.

TABLE OF PROJECTED PAYMENTS OF GOVERNMENT DEBT (million of \$)

Year	Redemption of Bonds	Redemption of Bank shares	Redemption of shares as % of redemption of Bonds
1985	2265	678	30
1986	1615	1180	53
1987 (1)	2223	4837	182
1988	2660	1412	78
1989 (1)	1814		

Source: Bank of Israel

(1) The figure for these years is the maximum amount that will be redeemable in each year. It should be noted that these are the same shares, which are redeemable after either 4 or 6 years, not both.

The Wilner-Arafat talks prove: an Israeli-Palestinian peace is possible!

The PLO is ready for simultaneous, reciprocal recognition between the State of Israel and an independent Palestinian state, when the latter is set up, and to recognize the June 4, 1967 borders as secure, 'peace' borders. Peace is thus dependent only on the people of Israel making a reasonable decision — this is the important, historic message brought back by the leader of *Hadash* from his recent talks with Arafat in Geneva. By our votes, we can contribute to the achievement of real peace, not an 'occupation' peace — peace between a Palestinian state and the State of Israel.



Uri Avnery wants to be in an Alignment government:

"We won't stay outside" ... Avnery does not exclude the possibility of his list being offered a place in an Alignment government... Ha'aretz, July 13, 1984

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ALFRED ATHON, a senior state department official who has been closely involved in U.S. policy in the Middle East for some 20 years, has outlined proposals for reviving Arab-Israeli peace negotiations next year.

In the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs* quarterly, Athon insists that Israel must once again accept the notion of withdrawing from some of the West Bank as an essential element in the peace process.

"For Israel," he writes, "the pursuit of peace will require recognizing that the choice is between retaining exclusive control of the occupied West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights — which in my view will render a stable Middle East peace unattainable for the indefinite future — or working toward a solution which accepts the basic concept of 'territory for peace' embodied in Resolution 242."

Athon, a former special Middle East envoy who recently returned to Washington after serving as ambassador to Egypt, is now director-general of the State Department's foreign service. The article, he says, reflects "entirely" his own personal views.

Still, the ideas presented by Athon are known to be shared by many other career State Department officials.

Athon, one of the most respected Middle East specialists in Washington, recognizes the difficulties in reviving peace talks, but insists the situation is by no means hopeless.

"If Israel were again prepared to take that concept (of territory for peace) as a point of departure, and if the Arabs were prepared to make the hard decisions facing them, it should not be beyond human imagination to devise arrangements that would take into account the changes that have occurred since resolution 242 was passed," he writes.

"Such arrangements would need to deal, *inter alia*, with questions of security for both Israel and its neighbors, with the roots Israel has put down in the occupied territories through the establishment of settlements there, and with the needs of peaceful intercourse," he adds.

ATHERTON MAINTAINS that the U.S. "remains the best hope for helping the nations of the Middle East find a peaceful future. I believe, further, that most of the leaders in the area know this in their hearts."

Continuing, he writes: "It is not too soon for us to start thinking now about the policies we will pursue in the new year to protect U.S. interests and to achieve U.S. objectives in the Middle East."

Prerequisite for peace

By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent

"We cannot ignore the threat the Soviets pose to our interests in the region. It is important to have a credible military deterrent capability."

"Military credibility without political credibility is of limited value. Today, it is American political credibility above all that is at stake in the eyes of moderates in the Arab world, of those states which historically have cast their lot with us and without whose cooperation our ability to protect military strength in the region would be severely restricted."

"We cannot, therefore, permit a pre-occupation with the military aspects of our posture, or with East-West issues, to obscure the reality that in the end only a resolution of regional conflicts will ease the tensions and lessen the risks of instability which the Soviets exploit, directly and indirectly, to our detriment."

"While recognizing that the Middle East is not a one-issue area, we need to establish our priorities more firmly. Failure to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli and the larger Arab-Israeli conflict remains the potentially most destabilizing factor in the area. Its solution will not solve all the problems of the Middle East, but the history of more than 30 years shows that failure to tackle this issue resolutely will make all the other problems of the region infinitely less manageable."

IN THE ARTICLE, entitled "Arabs, Israelis — and Americans: A Reconsideration," Athon asserts it was his experience that "domestic political considerations have probably carried more weight in determining American Middle East policy over a longer period of time than they have on any other major foreign policy issue since the days of the China lobby. I say this not as a criticism, but as a statement of fact."

"It is a fact which Israel has long recognized, but which Arab leaders — with the sole exception of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat — have tended to wring their hands a bout rather than including it in their own calculations."

Athon, who served under former secretary of state Henry Kissinger in 1975, criticized the U.S. com-

mitment to Israel at that time not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until it accepts Resolution 242 and Israel's right to exist.

"It has long been my personal view," he writes, "that such a dialogue would have been an opportunity to exploit the latent divisions within the PLO, between those who advocate terrorism and reject the very idea of peace with Israel, and those who are prepared to take a more pragmatic and less extreme approach."

ATHERTON SINGLES out for special praise Sadat, Jimmy Carter and Menachem Begin for their respective decisions leading to the start of the Israeli-Egyptian peace process.

"President Carter, from his first meeting with Sadat onward, had impressed the Egyptian president with the argument that the Arabs could not expect Israel to withdraw from occupied territories for less than full peace and normal relations. An end to the state of belligerency, the most any Arab leader had been prepared to offer until then, would not be sufficient," Carter argued.

"There is no question that this argument, and Sadat's confidence in Carter, had greater impact on Sadat's thinking than many of us realized at the time, and influenced the evolution of his thinking — to the point when he made his bold decision to go to Jerusalem."

Athon, despite his criticism of Begin for re-interpreting Resolution 242 to reject any territorial withdrawal from the West Bank, praised his willingness to leave all of Sinai.

"Another critical development in 1977 was the accession of the Israeli Likud government headed by

Menachem Begin," he writes. "Just as Sadat's willingness to negotiate directly with Israel for peace, in the full sense of the word, was essential for successful negotiations, Israeli readiness to withdraw completely from all Egyptian territory as part of a peace settlement was equally essential."

"If Begin had insisted on the position of previous Israeli governments, that Israel would have to retain possession of security positions in eastern and southern Sinai, there would have been no settlement. It was Begin's willingness to make the bold decision for total withdrawal, combined with Sadat's bold decision to make total peace, that brought Egyptian-Israeli peace into the range of the possible."

Athon regards the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty "as the one new and, I believe, irreversible reality in the 30-year-old Arab-Israeli conflict. Without it, the prospects for a comprehensive peace in the region — dim as they may seem today — would be infinitely more distant."

The State Department official takes issue with Carter and former secretary of state Cyrus Vance, who blamed Begin in their respective memoirs for allegedly backing out of a commitment at Camp David to freeze West Bank settlement activity during the course of Palestinian autonomy negotiations. Begin insisted the commitment was only for three months.

"While I was not present during President Carter's negotiation of this 'understanding' with Begin, my subsequent attempts to piece the story together lead me to think that this was a case of genuine misunderstanding rather than bad faith," writes Athon.

At that time, he was Carter's special Middle East envoy and among those present at Camp David.

"In any case," he continued, "the damage had been done. The Arabs saw a long-term settlement freeze as the touchstone of American credibility. When Israel resumed its settlement activities, our credibility suffered a serious blow which still haunts us today."

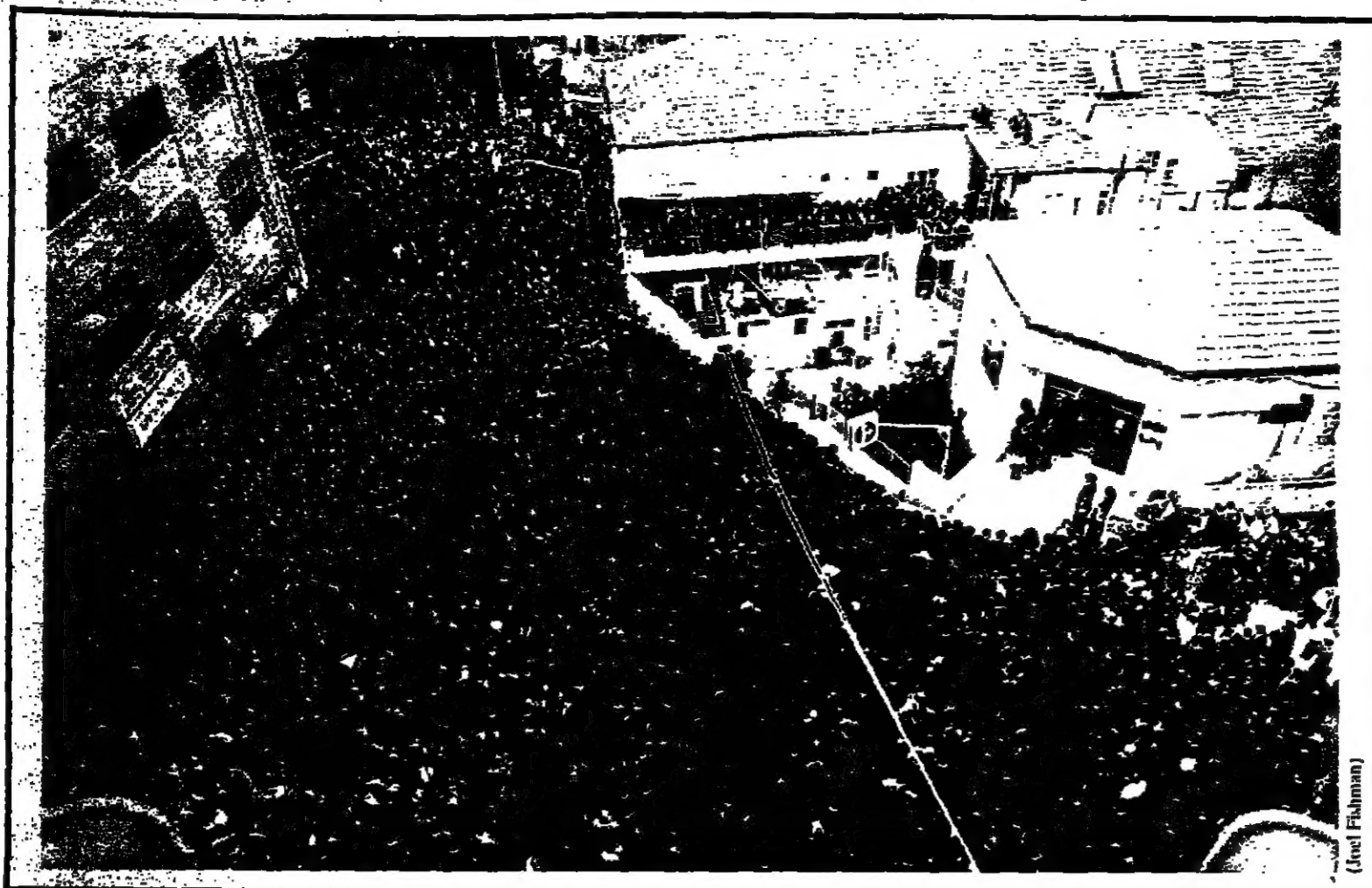
The writer is the Washington Correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.



سكز من الاجل

Divided they stand

The Post's Abraham Rabinovich looks at the ultra-Orthodox camp.



Knesset Member Rabbi Menahem Porush. "It was that they weren't represented on our councils and in the Knesset. But this wasn't only our fault. They never took an interest in

being active *askanim* (politicos)." Porush says he is hoping for a reconciliation with Shas after the elections, "when we can see what their strength actually is."

FAR MORE BITTER has been the conflict within the Ashkenazi camp itself. It began with a demand from the hassidic leaders on the Council of Sages - the ultimate authority for the

Aguda camp - that the two "Lithuanians" in the Knesset representing the non-hassidic yeshiva would be rotated on the basis of an earlier agreement. The two, Porush and

Shlomo Lorincz, had apparently angered the hassidim over the allocation of government funds to Aguda institutions. The pair refused the claim that there had been an agreement on their retirement.

Early last month, dozens of hassidim of the Gerrer Rebbe attacked Porush in the Central Hotel, which he owns. Angered over references to the rebbe - head of the Council of Sages - in an interview with Porush published the day before in *Ha'aretz*, the hassidim severely pummeled the Knesset member, causing him to be hospitalized. Since then, the Gerrer Rebbe and Porush have been waiting for each other to apologize.

The threatened split in Aguda was avoided by an agreement calling for Lorincz to step aside and for the Council of Sages at some later date to discuss the question of Porush's subsequent rotation.

THE AGUDA campaign did not get off the ground until last week, but even then in a manner that reflected its deep divisions. The main campaign in Jerusalem, Aguda's principal stronghold, is being run by Porush, number two on the party list, out of party headquarters near the Edison Cinema, without any relation to the national campaign directed in Tel Aviv by Knesset Member Avraham Shapira, who heads the Aguda list and is the Gerrer Rebbe's choice. The hassidic camp is running its own campaign.

An attempt by Shapira to reform the Aguda's tattered ranks for the final push by having all factions publicly endorse the party list ran into difficulties when the Gerrer Rebbe withheld his endorsement, because of his anger at Porush, until last week.

The widely respected Rabbi Eliezer Schach, former head of the council, has withheld his endorsement of Aguda for the interesting reason that he does not want to detract from Shas. The venerable Rabbi Schach, the archetypal Ashkenazi scholar, believes that the Sephardi *haredim* have a right to form their own poli-

tical framework and he has done much to encourage it.

In the Jerusalem municipal elections last year, he called for the Ashkenazim to vote for Aguda and the Sephardim in the *haredi* camp to vote Shas. It is expected that he may do the same for the Knesset vote.

Aguda leaders fear that many Ashkenazim may vote for Shas as well, in order to undo one of the other factions.

"Some hassidim think that if they vote for Shas, it will cost Aguda's number three candidate (Shimon Siroka), who represents the yeshiva world, his seat and they will thereby get even with those who insulted the Gerrer Rebbe," says one knowledgeable *haredi* source. "But some of them make the calculation that the fight is over the number four place and the candidate there is Shmuel Halpert, who represents the Viznitz Rebbe (a hassidic leader)."

MEANWHILE, Porush's campaign is well launched. His ads in the press, including the secular press, focus on his own personality - a seventh-generation Jerusalemite who, the ads say, has proved his ability to open government doors for "everybody." His staff of young *haredim* comprises one of the most efficient political organizations in the country.

Each evening, tenders mounted with loudspeakers tour the city's *haredi* neighborhoods to play a tape-recorded election sermon by Porush in which he equates election day to judgement day.

What the Aguda has fought for, he reminds them, are funds for its own educational system and keeping yeshiva students and Orthodox girls out of the army or even national service.

The party's success is undeniable and therefore, despite all its *issues*, Aguda may well be back in the next Knesset, buttressing some narrow coalition and extracting a commensurate price.

For this you need campaign jing-

SO THEY'RE NOT filming their campaign for television - but who has a television in Mea She'arim, anyway? Loudspeakers on the street, that's what they're using. Ears everybody has, right? And a Jewish heart. What more do you need?

Agudat Yisrael, which for months has been waging the strongest campaign of any political party in the country - against itself - has finally gotten its act together, more or less, in the final two weeks before elections.

It is a low-key performance and the actors are mostly reading from different scripts, with their backs turned to each other. But the message to the traditional Aguda electorate is clear: *Gevalt*.

This cry of woe stems from a situation of internal conflicts, exceptional even for this ultra-Orthodox grouping whose numerous factions have always jostled each other for a place at the political *mizrah van* (the synagogue wall facing Jerusalem) where their aspirations and communal standing can best be served.

This time it is Sephardim against Ashkenazim; hassidim against "Lithuanians," the sages of Israel against each other's camps.

The breakaway of the Sephardim to form their own ultra-religious party, Shas, was the most traumatic shift in the Aguda's strength since the Neturei Karta abandoned it in 1935 because it was cooperating too closely with the Zionist establishment.

The ultra-Orthodox Sephardim left the Aguda, which had educated most of them in its own yeshivas, for the same reason that "traditional" Sephardim broke away from the secular parties to form Tami - feeling that they were being patronized and kept down.

The Shas breakaway is expected to cost Aguda one or two of its four Knesset seats.

The Aguda establishment regards the breakaway with sadness, not anger.

"It wasn't that we didn't do enough for the Sephardim," says

AFTER A LONG sojourn in the desert, after going through so many trials and tribulations, the Children of Israel are now about to enter the Promised Land. They stand at the gate of the Land about which they dreamed so long and for which they suffered so much. They moved towards their coveted destination with renewed strength and unity having several glorious military victories already behind them.

The last thing one would expect at such a moment is a separatist move coming from two distinguished tribes. But that is exactly what happened when the tribes of Reuben and Gad approached Moses and expressed their desire to be permitted to stay in the lands which were recently conquered while en route to the Promised Land.

They appealed to Moses (Numbers 32:5): "Bring us not over the Jordan." They do not say openly that they want to separate themselves from the rest of Israel, who are heading towards the Land; all they want is to be exempted from the personal obligation of aliya.

The reason for this unexpected request lies in the fact which is told at the beginning of the story - that "the children of Reuben and the children of Gad had a great multitude of cattle." They had too much wealth invested in the country in which they lived now. They were too well to do to take aliya seriously.

In the plea of the children of Reuben and Gad to Moses, they used the most polite and humble language: "If we found favour in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession."

Not so Moses. In his answer, he bluntly and poignantly puts the challenge to them: "Shall your brethren go to the war and ye shall sit here?"

Those harsh words, perhaps among the most stern in the entire Bible, are echoed a thousand years later in a letter sent by Bar-Kokhba to the people of Ein-Gedi and unearched a few years ago by the late Yigael Yadin. The letter, written on a papyrus size 9 x 19cm., reads: From Shimon bar Kosiba to the men of Ein-gedi, to Masbala and to Yehonatan Bar-Beayan, Peace.

In comfort you sit, but not think of the property of the House of Israel.

The rest of the letter was not found. But Yadin remarked about it: "While teaching and a tragic note is in these words, written by the failing Prince of Israel, it is also perhaps the most indicative of Bar-Kokhba's desperate situation at the end of the revolt."

I REPEAT, likewise, an exchange which took place at the Zionist Executive Committee meeting in Jerusalem during the grave days of the War of Liberation in 1947. The veteran, fatherly leader Rabbi Israel Brodetsky declared at that time that the Jews of the U.S. and the Jews of Israel were partners in the struggle for the Jewish state about to be established. The partnership was expressed in the Hebrew word *damim*, which means both blood and money.

At this point, Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan, the leader of the religious Zionists, rose to reply to Rabbi Goldstein. Indeed, he said, we are partners in the word *damim*, but what an immense difference between the two partners. When an Israeli Jew gives his blood for his people, he gives it to the last drop. Is there an American Jew who would give to his last dollar?

Moses, when Israeli parents send their child into battle - it hurts them very much. Is there an American Jew who would give until it hurts? Of yes, concluded Rabbi Bar-Ilan sarcastically, that happens. There are those who start hurting as soon as they give their first dollar...

WE MAY ASSUME that Moses was not so much concerned that the war would not be won if the children of Reuben and Gad did not take part in it; he believed that the Land would be conquered in accordance with God's promise, no matter how many tribes participated in it.

Moses's concern was, however, with the ethical implications of the

Sharing the responsibility

TORA TODAY/Rabbi Pinhas Hacohen Peli

seceding of the two tribes from a war which should be fought by all of Israel. The conquest of Eretz Yisrael was not incumbent only on those people who planned to live on the land. It was, in the eyes of Moses, the culmination of the drama of

redemption which should be acted out in full by all the tribes that came out of Egypt.

Moses was likewise concerned with the effect that the step taken by Reuben and Gad might have on the morale of the people - "and there-

fore, will we turn away the heart of the Children of Israel from going over into the Land which the Lord hath given them?"

He scolded them in sharp words, the likes of which he did not use even when they committed their gravest sins - "a brood of sinful men," he called them, recalling the sin committed against the Land by their "fathers," the slanderous spies.

Moses's sharp reprimand was not without results. When they returned, it was to tell him: "We will build sheepfolds here for our cattle and cities for our little ones, but we ourselves will be ready armed to go before the Children of Israel until we have brought them into our place... We will not return unto our houses until the Children of Israel have inherited every man his inheritance."

Only on this condition Moses agreed that the tribes of Reuben and Gad take up settlement on the other side of the Jordan. It seems, that, in principle, he was not against Jews living outside prescribed borders of the Land. He was, however, vehemently opposed to the unequal sharing among the tribes of Israel of the burden and responsibilities of the fight for the Land.

ONCE THE CHILDREN of Reuben and Gad offered to become *halutzim* (this is the term used in the Hebrew Bible, carried over to those early pioneers who settled Eretz Yisrael in recent generations) in the conquest of the Land alongside their brethren who were to settle there permanently, Moses considered them to be "clear before the Lord

and before Israel." A sin "before Israel" ranks in the eyes of Moses at the same level as a sin "before the Lord." Only when cleared from both sins, by the commitment to join the rest of Israel in its crucial struggles, do the children of Reuben and Gad receive the blessing of Moses to set themselves up with their children and rich possessions outside the Land of Israel.

A full involvement in the life of the Land of Israel is the only guarantee for the safeguarding of Jewish wealth outside of Israel and certainly for the proper upbringing of Jewish children.

"Matot" (Numbers 30:2-31:42) is the Bible portion read in synagogue on Saturday, July 21. Rabbi Peli is Professor of Jewish Thought and Literature at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

An appeal to reason:

VOTE FOR THE MAN, NOT FOR THE PARTY!

Better an Honest, Competent Man than a Dishonest, Incompetent Party!
Many sensitive voters are sincerely troubled today.
Some are even thinking of not casting a ballot.

They cannot vote for the Likud which has produced this ghastly mess.

- They cannot in all honesty vote for the Maarach which
- made little effort to change our inoperable system of elections
- is unable to formulate a coherent policy because it is split into three warring factions: MAPAM, MAPAI, and RAFI
- allied itself in the past with the Aguda, and is now negotiating with TAMI
- is divided in its approach to the war in Lebanon
- thwarted the introduction of religious freedom and pluralism for Conservative and Reform Jews
- threatens to place settlements in the West Bank under a foreign flag
- gave us the present uncontrolled banking system
- gave us a "work ethic" that has made Israel unproductive and noncompetitive
- like the Likud, made us dependent upon the State Department for our foreign policy, and upon the U.S. Treasury for our budget

A vote for the Maarach is a vote for Yossi Sarid and Victor Shemtov.

A vote for Ezer Weizmann is a vote for the man who organized and led the Likud electoral campaign in 1977 which split the nation on ethnic grounds.

MANY VOTERS SAY THAT IT'S BETTER TO VOTE FOR A BIG PARTY.
BUT THE BIG PARTIES ARE DIVIDED, CORRUPT AND INEFFICIENT - WHY VOTE FOR THEM?

There is an alternative.

MORDECHAI BEN PORAT

- will work to get Israeli troops out of Lebanon while ensuring Israel's security
- will work for electoral reform. (He was the one who introduced the bill for the direct election of mayors.)
- will work for a government of national unity, and will combat any effort to divide the people on ethnic or religious grounds
- will work for a sane economy
- will introduce legislation guaranteeing religious freedom for all
- has risked his life in dangerous rescue missions in Moslem lands
- has introduced legislation in the Knesset barring membership to convicted criminals

BY VOTING FOR MORDECHAI BEN PORAT YOU WILL BE VOTING FOR INTEGRITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY - GIVE HIM A CHANCE!

Even if you have voted for parties in the past, this time vote for the man.

Staying away from the polls won't solve any problems.

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The numbers game

Yosef Goell

MAPAI, and later the Labour Alignment, ruled Israel for 29 years because in eight elections the gap between it and the second largest party — Herut, the Liberals or a combination of the two — was large enough to make it impossible for the Number Two party to form an alternative coalition.

To be sure, Labour always ruled in a coalition, both as a matter of necessity (it never won more than 56 Knesset seats, five short of the 61 majority needed) and out of choice, from a historic desire to perpetuate its 42-year partnership with the religious Zionism of the National Religious Party.

The elections to the Ninth Knesset in May 1977 brought about a radical change in this pattern. The Likud for the first time won significantly more seats than Labour — 43 to 33 — but the Number Two party, Labour, for the first time in Israel's politics reserved the option of forming an alternative coalition.

It is not the voters who made Menachem Begin prime minister in 1977 as much as the National Religious Party which, for its own reasons, decided to sever its historic relationship with Labour. (Labour, with 32 seats, could have formed a coalition with the Democratic Movement for Change, with 15 seats; Sheli, with two; the Citizens' Rights Movement (CRM) — one; the Labour-affiliated Arab list — one and the NRP — 12. Total: 63.)

Even the NRP's switch to partnership with the Likud was in itself insufficient to put together a majority. For that Begin needed the four

votes of the anti-Zionist Aguda.

The real change in coalition politics ushered in by the 1977 elections and aggravated by the 1981 results was that, henceforward, the major government party would be totally dependent on its small coalition partners (in 1977 on the NRP and the Aguda; in 1981 the three-seat Moroccan party, Tami, was added to the list of those parties which held the fate of the government in its hands).

It is a fair assessment to state that the inability of the Likud government to even try to implement a meaningful deflationary economic policy in the last few years was partly due to the veto power of their small coalition partners and especially Tehiya, Agudat Yisrael and Tami.

With all the reservations about the objectivity and scientific nature of the published public opinion polls (the secret, unpublished, party-commissioned polls are another matter) several things are clear a few days before election time: the Alignment will definitely get more seats than the Likud, but it will in no way win a 61-seat majority.

What is yet unclear is whether the Alignment will win by a sufficient margin ahead of the Likud to make it impossible for the latter to form an

alternative coalition.

Fifty-two seats is the minimum needed by the Alignment to form a blocking coalition that could prevent the Likud, in any permutation, from forming an alternative coalition. To that number must be added the three to four seats all the polls have been giving Shinui and Shulamit Aloni's CRM, and the five seats the Communists and the new Arab Progressive List for Peace will share between them.

This does not mean that Labour would take the Arab lists into a government coalition, but that their guaranteed vote against a Likud coalition would rule out such a possibility.

If the Alignment gets anywhere between the 47 seats it won in the last Knesset and 51, whether it or the Likud would be the ones to form the next government would depend on the small parties in the middle who are willing to go either way, depending on the price offered. These include Ezer Weizman's Yahad, Yigael Hurvitz's Ometz, Mordechai Ben Porat's list, Tami, the NRP, Agudat Yisrael and its Shas competitor for the ultra-Orthodox Sephardi vote.

THE PATTERN of the last two

elections, where a large number of undecided voters finally made up their minds only days before the election has been repeated this time too. One may assume that by today nearly everyone who is going to vote has made up his mind between the two major blocs or in favour of one of the small particularistic parties.

Many voters, however, will be making their final decision among the parties within the bloc of their choice literally at the last minute. Which raises the question of whether one should vote for a big or small party, and whether or not one risks "wasting" one's vote by granting it to one of the many small parties instead of one of the two big ones.

In attempting an answer one has to separate the small parties in the middle of the political spectrum from those clearly situated at either end; and between those whom the polls say are clearly going to sail over the one-per-cent threshold from those whom the polls put in the doubtful column.

The rules of the game are that any list which receives even one vote less than one per cent of the total nationwide valid vote simply doesn't participate in the allocation of Knesset seats. At the time of writing (four days before the elections) I believe

that it would be fair to say that a vote for Lova Eliav on the left, or *lehavdil*, Meir Kahane's Kach on the far right, is a risky proposition indeed.

The same is true of Mordechai Ben Porat's list. A vote for any of these lists may constitute a deeply felt statement of principle on the part of the voter in question, but the price may be a wasted vote from the point of view of its political effect.

But when one goes to either of the political extremes, the decision of whether to vote for the Likud, Tehiya or Morasha on the one hand or for the Alignment, Shinui or the CRM on the other, will make no difference with regard to the major question of which bloc will form the next government.

By this criterion, Tehiya and Morasha should be seen as adjuncts of the Likud who will under no conditions defect to an Alignment coalition, and Shinui and the CRM as mirror-image adjuncts of the Alignment.

Even if this is true, why not vote for the big party at the centre of the opposing blocs rather than for adjuncts? If the voter is swayed by the major question of choosing between the two blocs, the answer should be to vote for either the Alignment or the Likud.

But if voters have additional considerations, a vote for the smaller adjuncts will in no way harm the prospects of either large bloc.

Such additional considerations for example can be the consistent stands of Shinui and the CRM on issues of civil rights and good government and

against religious coercion, on which the mainline Alignment can be expected, on the basis of previous performance, to give in more easily to pressure by the religious parties or because of their own vested interests.

The difference between the CRM and Shinui is between the much more dogmatically dovish position of the former on the Palestinian issue compared with the more pragmatic stand of the latter.

I HAVE HEARD reservations expressed by people who would have considered voting for Shinui, were it not for its surplus votes agreement with Ezer Weizman's Yahad. There is a possibility that this agreement could lead to an extra seat for a Yahad that might opt for coalition with the Likud. The probability of such an outcome is minimal. On the one hand, there is a 50-50 chance that Shinui would get the surplus votes from Yahad. And there is another 50-50 chance that Weizman, even if his list got the Shinui surplus votes, would opt for a coalition with Labour rather than with the Likud.

The far right again presents a mirror image of these considerations. A vote for Tehiya or Morasha in no way endangers the prospects of a Likud coalition, and they add the clarity of single-issue parties, which can be attractive for voters concerned with those issues.

In the centre there is a difference between clearly particularistic parties like the NRP, Aguda, Shas and Tami, which appeal to the vested

interests of specific sections of the electorate, and the much vaguer personal parties of Weizman, and Yigael Hurvitz.

In both cases one does not know in which direction these parties will go in coalition politics. In the case of the religious parties or Tami, voting for them constitutes a clear preference for one's particularistic interest over the question of which bloc will form the next government.

As regards Weizman and Hurvitz, voting for them is a preference for the personalization of politics. For, like the late Moshe Dayan, who stood for Moshe Dayan, Weizman stands for Weizman and Hurvitz for Hurvitz, the rest is window dressing.

We will all be wiser at midnight Monday. But it is impossible to end such a survey without expressing a vote of protest against the politicians who subjected us to the indignity and profligacy of a four-and-a-half-month-long campaign. It could all have been done in two months or less. But, then, elections are not a solution when politicians of all parties choose personal and party convenience over national responsibility.

But such a protest is no reason not to vote. Past choices have been no less difficult. The basic health of Israeli democracy has always been proved by the high percentage of voter participation, and there is every reason to believe that the same will hold true this time around.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

July's people

David Twersky

ISRAELIS WHO wonder what their country might look like after a generation of Likud rule might benefit from a careful reading of the works of South African novelist such as Nadine Gordimer and J.M. Coetzee. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, based on a famous poem by the Greek Alexandrian poet C.P. Cavafy, is a devastating portrayal of civilization betrayed by itself and transformed by its own fears into the image of its imagined enemy.

Gordimer's *July's People* is a terrifying vision of an apocalypse in which a black African revolution nearly succeeds in overturning all established patterns of human and social relationships.

It is not accidental that these visions are generated in the heat and dust of South Africa. One needs more than Coetzee's or Gordimer's great talent to write like that. One needs to be in the midst of a tragic situation, way down the road beyond despair. One must give up altogether on one's social world, and regard one's art as a furtive glance over the shoulder at the burning city, as the courage to tell the story despite it all.

Amos Kenan's recent novel *The Road to Ein Harod*, which envisions Israel after a right wing coup rests uncomfortably within the tradition of *July's People*. Uncomfortably because the sense of absolute and in-

soluble grief is missing. Unlike South Africa, most Israelis on the liberal-left remain firmly committed to their people and their country. Few of them see the requirements of justice as dictating a 'victory' for the other side; they see, rather, their own national interests being best served by a compromise.

ISRAELI MODERATES also see their own national cause, the return of the Jewish people to their homeland and their dramatic assertion of the right to self-determination, as profoundly necessary and just. They recoil from criticism of Israel and Zionism, stemming from an animosity to the fundamental premise of a Jewish national existence. They love their country and are prepared to defend it.

At the same time, however, they have been suffering from the cumulative despair of helplessness, of watching events overtake them — their dreams transformed before their eyes into a waking nightmare.

No wonder Kenan can succumb and write about the day after the end of democratic and shared illusions; but most of his contemporary compatriots remain one step back from that precipice, if painfully aware of the dizzying abyss just over their shoulder.

In this election these Israelis have the opportunity to redirect the traffic of public affairs away from the edge. It is more than disappointing that the issues have not been more forcefully dealt with in the debate between the two major parties.

To avoid the unpopularity which would undoubtedly result from straight talking, Labour has muzzled one of the central truths of its worldview; that any long-term solution to the Israel-Arab dispute must involve a painful and convulsive wrenching apart of the bulk of the West Bank and Gaza from Israel, and that what remains to be worked out is the best deal that Israel can make for itself.

The Likud is similarly avoiding a full-blown discussion of the implica-

tions for Israel of their policy of ultimate annexation, a view they continue to eschew in private.

If the Likud succeeds in forming another coalition, it will be the most extreme yet, with an increased dependence on the parties to its right, like Tehiya and Morasha, and with the tacit support, at the least, of Rabbi Kahane's Kach. It will signal the entrenchment of populism, chauvinism and tradition which has dominated the political air waves for the past decade.

Labour will need the cooperation of more than two or three parties which support its political programme, if it is to have any chance of forming a coalition after the elections. It will have to rely, it now appears, on the participation of forces which are more comfortable with the 'functional compromise' approach authored by the late Moshe Dayan.

Watching all of this unfold, Israeli doves are uneasy. Trying to capture the centre, Labour is in danger of being captured itself, like the Mongols converted to Islam after vanquishing Baghdad.

There is a great deal of pain and fear among these Israelis: they know that they are against the wall, and that if the option of a territory for peace swap is still tenuously open, it probably cannot survive another few years of Likud rule. They know that Israeli democracy and the liberal values which characterized Zionism from the outset are in danger of being swept away by the rising tide of extremism and intolerance.

But they also know that a Labour government may not go far enough either, restrained by a combination of domestic political opposition and internal party assessments of Israeli security requirements.

Given the enormity of the problems the new government will face, if this election yields an essential truth it may be this: that we are choosing between waking on the morning after the vote in a sick ward or in a morgue. Anyone interested in pursuing even the remotest chance of recovery and health will choose the sick ward, but this will be without entertaining illusions of a speedy discharge. It is going to hurt for a long time.

DOVES WILL have to identify a new agenda under a Labour government. They should oppose the formation of a "national confusion" coalition from Herut to Mapam. There is no emergency which justifies the roaring silence on Lebanon and the West Bank, and other major issues, which such a government would have to generate.

They should not only oppose the creation of new settlements in the heart of Judea and Samaria, but also the continued funding, beyond the barest minimum mandated by law and common decency, of existing ones. They should insist on a

rethinking of the notion that should serious negotiations begin with the Jordanians and West Bank Palestinians they would founder over an Israeli insistence that the Arab side accept the permanent nature of the existing settlements. Doves must support the new government when it resists law-breaking in the territories more firmly than did the Likud, or than did Labour last time around.

They must also insist upon regaining the ministry of education in order to begin to deal with the frightening transformation of values among the young.

Doves must loudly welcome the opportunity to renew the peace process next winter, following the inauguration of whoever gains the American presidency in November. They must help to create an atmosphere in which the pursuit of peace is viewed not as a favour to the Arabs but as in the highest form of self-interest.

The Labour leadership must understand that there is no way back to the politics of the 70's; too much has happened in the last decade to allow a return to the conservative stand-pat policies Labour once championed. The right is stronger now — but so is the left. Of the first 50 candidates for the Knesset on the Alignment list, 22 are to the dovish side of the party centre, 13 to the hawkish side and 15, including most of the leadership, are centrists.

Most of all, doves should insist that the Labour platform, which includes all of the necessary ingredients for a peace settlement, will be a taking-off point for negotiations and not its final destination.

If Labour does manage to put it all together, it will mean only that the deep social forces pulling Israeli culture to the right have been arrested, but not yet overcome. It will mark the beginning of a new struggle, not merely the end of the old. It will allow democratic Israelis the chance to propose, and not only to oppose; to legislate, not only to demonstrate; to create and not only to argue over distribution.

It may feel like waking in a sick ward, but it's not that bad when one considers the alternatives.

Most of all, a Labour government may represent Israel's last chance, its only hope — as their campaign advertisements would have it — to re-take the initiative from those driving us over the edge into the territory mapped out by Coetzee, Kenan, and Gordimer.

Forced to choose between a past lost forever and a rapidly approaching future in which they cannot see themselves, Israelis are 'July's People.' If Labour wins, they may not require later the comforting fiction of a literature beyond despair, the novel irony of a politics advocated after its time.

David Twersky is the editor of *Spectrum*, the Israeli labour movement monthly, and is a member of Kibbutz Gzer.

OLD DREAMS

Ya'acov Tabak

RELIGIOUS Zionism is in my blood. My father, a former national chairman of the Religious Zionists of America, preached Zionism and aliyah from his Baltimore pulpit for over 40 years, and I, along with his many congregants, lapped it up like mother's milk. I spent my childhood summers at Camp Massad learning to speak fluent Hebrew and determined that I would make aliyah by the time I was 30.

As an NRP activist in the 1981 elections, I came to know from within the intricate machinations of the party and had great hopes of effecting changes. Living in a new neighbourhood that sorely lacked the most basic religious institutions, I believed it was mere oversight or budgetary constraint that deprived thousands of Jewish citizens of the right to a mikveh or synagogue.

It was painful for me to discover that this situation existed more because of a lack of will to provide such facilities than anything else. After urging the insertion in the 1981 coalition agreement between the Likud and the NRP of a special clause that would make construction of these essential facilities part and parcel of any new neighbourhood planning, I found pathetic unwillingness on the part of the NRP leadership to activate the provision. Coalition agreements are mere window-dressing; the real deals are made behind closed doors.

Together with many others who had tried unsuccessfully to effect changes from within the NRP, I participated in the founding of Matzav over two years ago. We were deeply troubled by the virtual disintegration of the NRP, the factionalism, the inability of its leaders to lead, the abrogation of the democratic process for over 10 years and the negative image of religious ideals stimulated by this absence of leadership.

AT THE OUTSET of the current election campaign, the Chief Rabbi called for unification of the Religious Zionist camp based on two factors: The first 15 seats of the Knesset list would be fairly allocated; and a new leadership consisting of these 15, plus eight to 10 rabbinic personalities and academics, would democratically select the party's ministers and decide which coalition to join and upon what principles it would insist in coalition agreements.

Matzav unanimously accepted the Chief Rabbi's proposal in deference to him personally and to the institution he represented. The NRP agreed with the first factor but flatly refused to accept the democratic leadership principle of the second.

After two weeks of waiting for an NRP change of heart that failed to materialize, Matzav's 250-member general council voted to stand for the Knesset independently and work toward unity by inviting other elements in the religious camp to join.

Our appeal was answered: a large group of religious Tehiya supporters joined Matzav unconditionally and negotiations opened with both Poalei Agudat Yisrael (PAI) and the NRP Youth faction (Minister Zevulun Hammer and MK Ben-Meir).

By a clear majority, the Matzav executive chose PAI as its partner in a joint Knesset list, and thus Morasha came into being. Since the basic outlook of PAI is so very close to our own (PAI maintains kibbutzim, moshavim, a yeshiva heder, a national youth movement, Ezra, and, of course, is devoted to *To'ava* and *mitzvot*), it was decided to adopt a common platform, which was framed by Hanan Porat of Matzav. The two parties maintain their distinct identities, while running under the joint list headed by Rabbi Haim Druckman.

MORASHA views this as the first successful step towards unifying the religious public. But the NRP, clearly (and rightly) fearing the effect our unity will have on its own election prospects, has unfortunately chosen to cast aspersions on our cooperative effort, on our Zionism and on the integrity of our leaders.

They accuse Morasha of refusing the Chief Rabbi's proposal and causing fragmentation of the religious Zionist camp, when the very opposite is true. They repeatedly and intentionally refer to PAI as the non-Zionist Agudat Yisrael, a patent untruth, and claim that Morasha's partners "oppose yeshiva heder" (MK Ben-Meir, *The Post*, July 13). This is absurd. PAI's own Kibbutz Shalvut has a yeshiva that has produced some of our finest soldiers.

Sadder of all is Minister Hammer's declaration (*Yedioth*, July 13) concerning the NRP's refusal to sign a surplus-votes agreement with Morasha: "Whosoever fragments [the NRP] should be punished." In other words, if the NRP can't have all the Religious Zionist votes, then no one will.

Morasha's message is very different. It is a message of unity based on Torah ideals, democracy, ethnic integration and personal integrity, one that is attracting enthusiastic, broad-based support from ever-widening circles. This is our Religious Zionist dream of old.

Dr. Tabak, a chemist, is a member of the Matzav executive council, and the Jerusalem Religious Council.

שלום מחוץ ושיוויון מבית הם התקווה היחידה.
דימוקרטיה שתבטיח שיוויון מלא לכל האזרחים.
הישרדות לאומית ב"א הידיעה. אנו מציעים גם שיוויון בתוך ישראל פנימה - חוקה
יש לו אומץ שחזר לאחרים - להציע פתרון לבנייה הפלסטינית, שהיא הבעיה
אחרת הכפול: יהודים וערבים שהתלכדו יחד על בסיס מצע משותף.

The masquerade is over.
Tomorrow — Elections!
The real festival starts the morning after...

For a movement — the decision is in your hands,
then, for years to come, you can grieve, regret,
complain,
grumble with friends on Friday nights,
spend the weekdays in embassies,
building a future dream-life over the seas.

At this very moment, we call on you
to take stock, so that your vote
does not go to waste...

Have you not noticed that on the T.V. screen, in
the ads in the papers,
no one has dared address Israel's vital national
problem —
the Palestinian problem?

Have you not noticed that they have all taken
cover
behind false formulae — of secure borders,
eastern borderline, Judea, Samaria, and more of
the same nonsense?

Palestinians — not to be mentioned
A whole people, whose lives have, for ages, been
shaped by the war,
simply does not exist!
No problem — no solution.

It takes courage, integrity too,
a sense of responsibility — personal and
historical —
to reject all the lies and falsifications pasted
on us —
right and "left"
Face your choice and vote —

פ

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KAVERET GROUP, JERUSALEM
Saturday, July 21, 1984, 8.30 p.m.
INTERNATIONAL JAZZ FESTIVAL
with: Gilberto Gil, Paco de Lucia, Tania Maria
Thursday, July 26, 1984, 8.00 p.m.
INTERNATIONAL JAZZ FESTIVAL
with: B.B. King, Freddie Hubbard, McCoy Tyner
Saturday, July 28, 1984, 9.00 p.m.
MANHATTAN TRANSFER
Sole Appearance in Israel
Thursday, August 23, 1984, 8.30 p.m.
TICKETS AT AGENCIES in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv
No chairs or seats may be brought in. Doors close 45 minutes before beginning of performance.

سكنا من الاجل

Winning the battle...

Michael Eilan

BEFORE ANY BALLOT is slipped into an envelope and dropped in the box it is clear that the Alignment has won on at least one count.

It has managed to keep this campaign almost infamously dull. This was the avowed aim of Alignment campaign strategists, and to a large extent they managed to impose their campaign style on the Likud. But winning in terms of strategy does not necessarily mean winning the war.

On the surface at least, in small rallies, parlor meetings and the other places where politicians go to look for votes, the Likud seemed at a disadvantage. Young activists in poorer neighborhoods complained that the Likud campaign lacked that special electricity of populism that led it to victory in 1977 and 1981.

In many ways, the Likud needed an aggressive Alignment campaign in order to generate the energy that would grab the emotions of people in traditional Likud strongholds. But the Alignment, for its own reasons, did not appear condescending enough or Ashkenazi enough to suit the Likud. So, on the hustings, much of the Likud's anti-Alignment rhetoric was seven years old. And an appeal to "remember the bad old days" just wasn't strong enough.

The sharp edge of traditional Likud rhetoric also seemed dulled by what appeared to be the party's ambivalent attitude towards its own incumbency. While proudly talking about Likud accomplishments in

power, nearly all the politicians seemed to be hinting that the Likud wasn't really in power yet because of the Alignment's "stranglehold" in institutions like the Histadrut and its financial empire.

In the last two election campaigns, just talking about the Alignment was the strongest weapon in the Likud arsenal. This time it wasn't, so the message was mixed. And because many Likud politicians and activists seem to be inherently better at aggressive, opposition-style rhetoric, they did not appear to use the benefits of incumbency to their full advantage.

After seven years in power, it was also hard to pose as an underdog. One of the underlying and most successful motifs in Likud rhetoric in the last elections, and in previous years, was that the party, and its voters, were the underdogs who made good. Many Likudniks said during the campaign that one of the reasons for Ariel Sharon's outstanding popularity in the streets is that he appears like a beleaguered hero, beleaguered by the news media, the Alignment, even the ruling elite in-

side Herut. But in this campaign, the underdog message just didn't jibe with the role of incumbent.

The results of this confusion can be seen in the television propaganda. Likud films veered, quite wildly at times, from "old-fashioned" attempts to blemish the character of Alignment leaders to earnest, occasionally pompous, boasting of Likud accomplishments. If the Alignment had been more aggressive, the Likud could have resolved these ambiguities by limiting their campaign to what they are good at—a strong counter-attack.

ON THE ALIGNMENT side, the campaign seemed much more consistent. When party leaders talked to Labour activists in small towns and villages, one of the most frequent complaints they heard was: "Why don't you hit us harder at the Likud?" But all the Alignment leaders, talking to eager activists on the factory floor and in crowded parlour meetings, consistently said "we want to run a clean campaign."

The thinking behind the Alignment strategy was that the party

wanted to cash in on "disappointed Likud voters." It did not make sense, Alignment strategists said, to insult those people they were courting. If they said that a vote for Likud in 1981 was stupid, they would be accusing the "disappointed" voters themselves of stupidity.

Labour Knesset members claimed that their electorate was loyal in any case—some polls put loyalty to Labour at over 90 per cent.

So with Labour free to ignore its own natural electorate, the name of the game was new voters. When Alignment leaders were out campaigning, shy men and women would be dragged out to shake the hands of Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Navon, Yitzhak Rabin and other Labour leaders. They were exhibited like school-children who had won a prize, and the local activist would say: "Here's one of the people who have changed their minds. We think there are many more."

Labour was trying to get through to these people with the two sole aggressive components of its rhetoric: inflation, and money spent on "villas in the West Bank" which

Labour said could have been put to better use elsewhere. The fact that this rhetoric got through—to the Likud politicians—can be seen in their responses. "Inflation, inflation, all I hear is inflation," one Likud leader said testily last week. And then the Likud spent a great deal of television time refuting the West Bank money argument.

BUT NOBODY, including the pollsters, really knows how much of this talk got through to the elusive "floating voter." In development towns, the floating voter took the role seriously, coming to hear all the politicians speak, but keeping to the outskirts of the crowd.

"I don't know, it's either Lova Eliav or Tehiya," several people said in the first weeks of the campaign. They were not at all fazed by the distance, in left-to-right terms, between these two lists. What they were looking for was sincerity, ideals, and a track record unsullied by wheezing and dealing.

Both parties were trying to win over the same wavering voters. The basic Likud idea was that these were strayed sheep who needed returning to the fold: the Alignment tried to tell them their reasons for wavering were valid and important.

The polls are not consistent, and it's hard to tell how many voters have returned to the Likud in these last two weeks. But one thing emerges



from conversations with floating voters throughout the country.

Neither of the two big parties has made a very deep impression on the roughly 100,000 voters the Likud and Alignment have been courting. And it is these 100,000 people who will decide on Monday which party is to form the next government.

These people remained on the sidelines of the rallies because the two large parties were like wrestlers who couldn't get into a clinch. There were hardly any issues (such as the short-lived Lisa Peretz affair) to heat up the rhetoric.

In as much as this is basically what the Alignment sought, it got what it wanted. But in the absence of a dramatic clash between the giants, many of the wavering voters I talked to said they were going to choose a small party.

And now, having won the war of strategy, the Alignment will have to wait until Monday night to see if winning the war of dullness will give them enough votes to form a coalition.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Guns and butter

David Krivine

FOR AS LONG as we can remember, Israel's politicians have been promising an end to deficit financing. They have not been able to do it, owing to the nature of the problem. One-third of the budget is debt service, which cannot be evaded; another third is defense, which we reduce at peril of our lives.

That makes two-thirds. All the government's civilian expenditure—on education, health, welfare, benefits to discharged soldiers, subsidies, the development areas, assistance to export, you name it—is concentrated in the remaining third. If we truncate that by a massive, souldestroying 10 per cent, what have we achieved? A three per cent economy overall, no more.

The Labour Alignment promise to spend less in Lebanon and less in Judea and Samaria. But how much can they save? Soldiers cost money, whether they are stationed on the Avari river or along Israel's northern frontier. Settlers cost money whether they are housed in the West Bank or in the Negev. Less money, but money all the same.

Why is it so difficult to live within our means? The familiar answer is to blame our crippling overall outlay on defence. Left-wingers urge that we slash it—presumably by \$1b. or one-fifth, even that that represents the minimum budgetary saving which needs to be made.

The bulk of the population funds this advice facile and irresponsible. Our boys serve in the armed forces; their lives are at stake. The more we scrimp on defence, the greater our casualties are likely to be in any armed encounter. Do we want to economize at the expense of our soldiers' blood?

But what if military expenditure can be cut back by that same critical billion dollars without impairing Israel's defences? How would the public react to that?

The following is based on an extended conversation with Amos Rubin, who has devoted a great deal of thought and reading to the subject. He is a senior economist in the Bank of Israel, but gave this interview in his private capacity. I have not discussed his ideas with anybody in the defence establishment. All the facts and figures cited are taken from printed material available here and abroad.

ISRAEL'S military budget is swollen because we have a very large army. It has to match the size of the enemy formations facing us. We need tanks, artillery, warships, planes, because they have tanks, artillery, warships, planes; and the material they have put together, thanks to their petro-dollars, is enormous.

But what is the function of all this mechanized hardware? To attack the foe until he is beaten. There are two ways of defeating an enemy country. One is to atom-bomb it into

surrender, as the Americans did with the Japanese at the end of World War II. The other is to overrun it and occupy it.

Atom-bombing in our time would be suicidal; both parties would be damaged beyond bearing. No government has dared employ this technique since Hiroshima, and none is likely to in the future. All prefer to rely on deterrence.

We are left with defeat by conquest and occupation. For that, we require the offensive deployment mentioned above, with tanks, infantry, bomber planes and the rest.

But does Israel need to conquer, does it need to occupy foreign soil? The Arabs aspire to take over Israel. For our part we do not covet any territories beyond what we already hold in Eretz Yisrael—neither in Lebanon nor Syria nor Jordan nor Egypt nor any other state. The task of our armed forces is to defend the Jewish homeland, period.

In the past, we attacked only in order to defend, because power lay with the attacker. That is no longer true. We are not talking of strategic nuclear bombing. Today, as previously, Israel must retain an atomic-warfare option as a deterrent to onslaughts by any hostile nation which may own, or may at some future date acquire, the modern technology of devastation.

What concerns us then, is battlefield capacity. Israel's problem is to stop enemy tanks and planes from invading its living-space; and here comes the point of this article. The defender can achieve his purpose without requiring an equivalent mass of immensely expensive tanks and aircraft—by using a new and relatively economic high-technology defensive system.

The attacker is endowed with a greatly increased destructive capacity compared with the past; but he still has to attack, and in attacking exposes himself. The defender can pick off the enemy with high-precision shells. The policy of NATO is based on the superior power of defensive gunnery. The Western alliance depends on the use of tactical nuclear weapons to counter the massive superiority of the Warsaw Pact bloc in men and vehicles—that is, in conventional weaponry.

Europe faces difficulties all the same. It is large, and advancing Soviet troops could be hard to detect. Moreover, the battlefield in a defensive war in Europe's own borders, and in Europe's own densely populated areas, is enormous.

Israel is smaller, therefore easier

to defend. Its borderlands—in the Golan, the West Bank, Sinai—are sparsely settled. Rubin is sure that defensive battles can be fought away from the great, vulnerable conurbations. All this is on the assumption, it should be stressed again, that the modern gun in its bunker can, at the present level of technology, pulverize the oncoming armoured vehicle.

DEFENSIVE superiority is not new in military history. It prevailed in the World War I accounting for the terrible casualties suffered by attacking forces in the four-year Flanders agony. The disparity was overcome with the introduction in World War II of armoured vehicles whose mobility enabled them to keep out of range of the defending guns. Today the guns have caught up again; their range and accuracy have restored their erstwhile dominance on the battlefield.

The advantage of this change is that Israel is now in a position to reduce the number of its combat divisions, put most of its tanks into cold storage and cut the size of its air force, thus providing a salutary respite for the nation's hard-pressed economy.

The drawback is a natural reluctance in Israel, as in any other country, to use nuclear devices even at the battlefield level. Happily, a still newer development has cropped up to solve this dilemma too.

A recent leading article in the London Economist makes a prediction:

"The next period of military technology is likely to be dominated by a combination of cunning new weapons that can spot the enemy's tanks and troop-carriers long before they reach the front line, send missile loads of non-nuclear (our italics) bombs over their heads, and then zero the bombs on each particular target."

These non-nuclear bombs already exist. They are called PGM (Precision-Guided Munition), or "assault-breakers." They can be fired from missile-launchers, cannon or even common-or-garden mortars. A single shell divides up into a number of sub-shells, each computer-guided, each homing in on its specific and separate target—tank, half-track or lorry—within the approaching horde.

Why doesn't Israel take up this option? Rubin replies that it is doing so. According to a report published by The Economist three years ago, Israel was already then "developing cruise missiles," no less. The IDF is in the forefront of modern weapon technology. The question should be phrased differently: Why don't the military authorities concentrate more on this specialized defensive activity and disband a large part of their bulky assault forces?

THE FIRST answer is: Why should they? The army enjoys the best of both worlds; it has the power of defence and of offence. It can indulge in both—if only because Washington largely finances Israel's offensive potential.

The Americans have their own

reasons for keeping Israel armed. One of them, according to Amos Rubin, is the need to provide the Jewish state with an alternative method of defence, so that it is not driven to apply the atomic option as a weapon of last resort. (Being the only country in the world whose difference with its enemies is over its right to survive, that contingency might occur and must be averted.)

If the Israelis have to be armed, the U.S. finds it convenient to equip them in the conventional style. It likes the idea of keeping in the Middle East a fighting force which is committed to the Western alliance, as Israel is, and also possesses an offensive capacity. Who knows when the U.S.-Soviet confrontation may not necessitate an incursion into Lebanon, Syria or wherever?

The trouble with the big-army system is that the Arabs have thought up a way of exploiting it to their advantage. They can prod and coax the Israeli forces into limited combats involving casualties on both sides. Israel, small in population, is vulnerable to casualties. The Arabs boast that they will sacrifice 20,000, 50,000 men: no Israeli leader can ever speak of sacrificing even 2,000. The Arabs see themselves as wearing down our war effort by a process of continuous attrition.

(This may be the reason why former chief-of-staff Rafael Eitan favours telling the Arabs that any territory we occupy in such encounters we shall not vacate.)

The best solution, Rubin concludes, is to contract out of pugnacious entanglements altogether, by falling back on a largely defence posture. Let us stop setting tank against tank or infantryman against infantryman in set-piece trials of strength, like two boxers in the ring. Leave the initiative to the enemy. If he chooses to attack, blast his assault units out of existence with the type of highly specialized, accurate and destructive artillery pieces that modern technology places at our disposal.

DOES ALL THIS make sense? Military experts have different views. They suffered a pratfall with the Bar-Lev line in 1973 and are chary of taking risks again. They desire a strong, mobile and aggressive army, able to steer all conflicts away from Israel's borderlands.

Rather than test our capacity to repel an Arab attack, they would prevent the attack from taking place through a process of deterrence, and that involves the possession of a redoubtable counter-punching force.

They could be right, if we were rich and populous. But it is questionable whether we can truly afford such a costly fighting method—or whether we should. Our economic problem may be more intractable than these professional soldiers believe. It may justify falling back on a military system which is evidently less attractive to the soldiery—because it is passive and, so to speak, quiescent, leaving the initiative to the enemy—yet contains immense advantages in economic terms.

Implicit in Amos Rubin's approach may be a different strategic philosophy, concerning not only proper budgeting but also Israel's relations with its neighbours, its place in the Western alliance and the role of high technology in the nation's life. These ideas deserve to be discussed.

Voting wisely

Eliezer Whartman

Shemtov, who may be anathema to him.

Similarly, someone voting for Moshe Arens on the Likud ticket will also be voting for Ariel Sharon, whom he may detest.

We have become so accustomed to voting for large parties that we fail to understand that by voting for small ones whose programmes we approve of, we will be forcing the large parties to accommodate the smaller parties whose platforms reflect the wishes of the people who voted for them.

The big parties are made up largely of political hacks who know that if they had to stand for individual elections from specific constituencies they couldn't be elected dogcatcher. This is why the large parties have consistently thwarted the introduction of electoral reform. There is no accountability (a word which has no translation into Hebrew) to the people, but rather to the party leaders who placed their names on the list.

I grant that the danger exists that some splinter parties may reflect narrow partisan, religious or ethnic interests. These splinter parties are to be avoided.

On the other hand, a number of so-called splinter parties (actually

one-man parties) reflect wider, more enlightened goals.

Israel needs electoral reform. But the Alignment, which was in power for three decades, never worked for it. (Ben-Gurion broke his heart trying to persuade his colleagues to take the long-term view.)

The Likud, of course, was never remotely interested in the subject. On the other hand, some splinter parties, made up of men who know that they could be elected if they were to run on a one-to-one basis, may force the larger parties to introduce electoral reform if they want the independents to join their coalition.

(I realize that immediately the DMC comes to mind. But that was an aberration. Its voters were betrayed by some of its leaders. Had these men been sincerely interested in electoral reform, they could have brought it about.)

Splinter parties can also work to create a government of national unity, for they are not victims of an ideology which automatically precludes cooperating with "the opposition."

The answer is, obviously, not to dismiss all splinter parties as obstacles to change, but to vote selectively for those who favour reform.

Many Israelis faced with the dilemma of voting for either the Likud or Labour are so disillusioned by both of them that they are inclined to cast a blank ballot or not to vote at all.

That doesn't solve any problems. It's better to vote wisely and honestly, even if you have to break long-standing allegiances.

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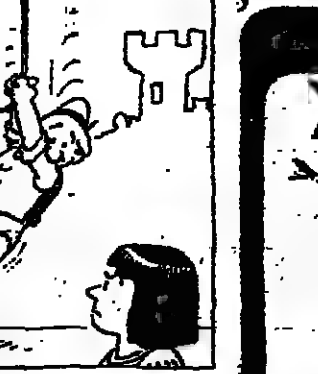
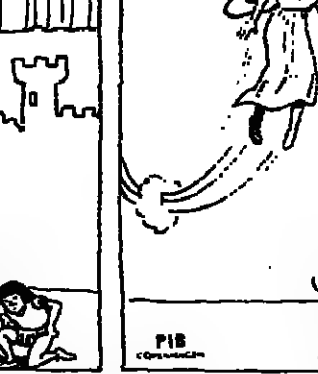
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HAREL
Just opened new French restaurant La Petite Cuisine in the Commercial Centre - Kfar Shmaryahu, Tel. 062-70009

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STATE OF ISRAEL
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
BUREAU OF DEPUTY MINISTER DOV SHILANSKY

TO DISCHARGED SOLDIERS

In response to many inquiries directed to my office, I am pleased to take this opportunity to inform you that on 2 Tammuz 4744 (July 2, 1984) the Knesset passed the "Discharged Soldiers Law, 5744-1984."

The principal provisions of the law are:

1. A discharged soldier will receive priority in job referrals by the employment services.
2. Discharged soldiers will be given preference in jobs awarded by tender.
3. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for priority in acceptance in job training programmes, as well as for partial waiver of tuition fees for these programmes.
4. The State Treasury will pay for three-fourths of the tuition of a discharged soldier completing his/her secondary school education.
5. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for priority in student housing allocations.
6. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for tuition loans to pay for higher education above and beyond the usual financial aid.
7. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for many income tax benefits; these benefits are in part a substitute for the waiver of purchase and excise taxes on basic goods of the type received by new immigrants.

This law will take effect immediately upon its publication in "Reshumot." The privileges of a discharged soldier under this law are yours for three years from the day on which you were discharged.

Those interested in receiving a copy of the full text of the law (in Hebrew) may request one from the bureau of Deputy Minister Dov Shilansky, The Prime Minister's Office, Jerusalem.

MACCABEE BEER 4th ISRAEL JAZZ FESTIVAL

JAZZ IN TEL AVIV
MANN AUDITORIUM
Wednesday July 25, 8:00pm - Poco de Lucia.
Friday July 27, 2:30pm - Freddie Hubbard, Tina Turner.
Saturday July 28, 8:00pm - Gilberto Gil.
Sunday July 29, 8:00pm - B.B. King.
MIDNIGHT AT THE HILTON
Wednesday July 25, Tina Turner.
Thursday July 26, McCoy Tyner.
Sunday July 29, McCoy Tyner.

JAZZ IN JERUSALEM
SULTAN'S POOL
Thursday July 26, 8:00pm.
Poco de Lucia, Gilberto Gil, Tina Turner.
Saturday July 28, 8:00pm.
Freddie Hubbard, B.B. King, McCoy Tyner.

20%/25% OFF 20%/25% OFF 20%/25% OFF
Limited number of tickets available for Jerusalem Post readers — first come, first served

In Tel Aviv: Mann Auditorium, IS3300 instead of IS4400.
Midnight at the Hilton, IS2800 instead of IS3575.
available at The Jerusalem Post, 11 Carlebach Street (ask for Ezra)

In Jerusalem: IS2800 instead of IS3575.
available at Zions Tours Jerusalem, 23 Rehov Hillel (next to Shalom St. post office)

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Jerusalem: 7:06 p.m. - 8:26 p.m.
Tel Aviv: 7:34 p.m. - 8:28 p.m.
Haifa: 7:18 p.m. - 8:29 p.m.
Beer Sheva: 7:21 p.m. - 8:19 p.m.
Eilat: 7:18 p.m. - 8:22 p.m.

TEL AVIV
Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv, 110 Allenby Rd. Services conducted by guest cantor. Before Kabbalat Shabbat, Rosh Hashana by Synagogue President Avraham Hazon. Mincha 7:55, Shabbat 8:00 (Air-conditioned hall).

RISHON LEZION
Congregation Ahvat Israel (Progressive), 22 Omer Hagardim, Kabbalat Shabbat 6:30 p.m., Shabbat 8:00 a.m.

JERUSALEM
Yeshurun Jerusalem Synagogue, Friday, Mincha 7:15, Shabbat, Shabbat 8:00, Mincha 7:20, Ma'ariv 8:20. The Jerusalem Great Synagogue, under the direction of Eli Jaffe.

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 7:15, Shabbat, Shabbat 8:00, Mincha 7:20, Ma'ariv 8:20. The Jerusalem Great Synagogue, under the direction of Eli Jaffe.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative 4 Acre, Friday, Mincha 6:00, Shabbat 6:30. Dear Torah: Prof. Haim Greenberg, Hazon Dov Kaplan, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, 13 King David St. Saturday morning service at 10 a.m. (Reform).

Italian Synagogue at Museum of Italian Art, 27 Rehov Hillel, Friday, 7:00 min. after candle lighting, Shabbat, Shabbat 8:00.

Har-El Synagogue (Progressive), 10 Shmuel Hanagid, Tel. 02-23841, Friday, 6:30 p.m. Shabbat morning 9:30 a.m. Rabbi Tuvia Ben-Hor.

CHRISTIAN

JERUSALEM
Redeemer Church (Lutheran) Muristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Worship 9:00 a.m. Tel. 262543, 280301.

Christ Church (Anglican), opp. Citadel, 8:00 a.m. Holy Communion, 9:30 a.m. Family service, 7:00 p.m. Evening service.

Baptist Congregation 4 Narik, West Jerusalem, Saturday services, 9:00 a.m. Hebrew; 10:30 a.m. English. Tel. 259412.

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, near Railway Station, Sunday Morning service, 10 a.m.

Immanuel Church (Lutheran), Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 15 Rehov Beer Hatan (near 17 Rehov Eilat) Tel. 820654, Saturday Service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

OTHER CENTRES
Baptist Village Congregation, 3 km. north of Peish Tikva. Saturday Service, Bible study 9:30 a.m. Worship 10:30 a.m. Tel. 052-32832.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (MORMON CONGREGATIONS)
Jerusalem: 58 Nabulus Road (next to the Ambassador Hotel) Tel. 02-815294.
Tel Aviv: 27 Shevet Menashe St., Herzliya, 052-77756.
Gatlin: 15 Shikmo Hanelech St., Tiberias, 067-42260.
Worship Services each Saturday from 9 a.m. to 12.

Notices are accepted for this column, appearing every Friday, at a rate of \$4 per line. Publication every Friday over a period of a month costs \$12 per line. Payment in shekels. (Prices do not include VAT.)

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES
Jerusalem: Armon Hanatuv, Talpott Commercial Centre, 710480, Baksam, Salah Eddin, 27215, Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108, Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 262058, Tel Aviv: Yehuda Hamaccabi, 42 Yehuda Hamaccabi, 455198, Sdoh Dov, Techni Lamed, 428101, Petah Tikva: Kupat Holim Cholim, Haim Ozer, 905271, Netanya: Hanassi, 36 Weizmann, 23630, Haifa: Hanita, 22 Hanita, 231915.

SATURDAY
Jerusalem: Shazar Zedek (pediatrics), Hadasah E.K. (internal, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology, E.N.T.), Bikur Holim (gynecology), Tel Aviv: Rosh (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery), Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology, surgery).

FIRST AID
Magen David Adom emergency phone numbers (round the clock service):
Ashdod 41333, Ashkelon 23333, Bat Yam 58555, Beer Sheva 78333, Carmiel 98855, Dan Region 781111, Eilat 72333, Hadera 22333, Haifa 51233, Hatzor 36333, Holon 80333, Jerusalem 52333, Kiryat Shmona 44334, Nahariya 92333, Netanya 23333, Petah Tikva 923111, Rehovot 51333, Rishon LeZion 942333, Safed 30333, Tel Aviv 240111, Tiberias 90111.

"Mobile Intensive Care Unit (MICU)" service in the area around the clock.
101 Emergency phone number in most areas.
Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv, 234819, Jerusalem - 810110, and Haifa 88791.

"Eran" - Mental Health First Aid, Tel. Jerusalem 669111, Tel Aviv 253311, Haifa 238888, Beer Sheva 48111, Netanya 35316.

For information on Battered Women Shelters call Family Violence Service - 03-21475/23922 or any of the Rape Crisis Centre or Eran hot lines.

DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics), Shazar Zedek (internal), Hadasah E.K. (gynecology, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology, E.N.T.), Tel Aviv: Rosh (pediatrics, internal), Ichilov (surgery), Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology, surgery).

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE CROSSWORD PUZZLE SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE NEXT FRIDAY
Missing Links By Peter Swift/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Molesko

ACROSS

1 Ill-gotten money
5 Central point
9 Ungentlemanly chaps
13 Where King Hussein works
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3 Como coin
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28 Tay and Awe
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88 Emulate
89 Maxwell Perkins
92 Free the pigs

93 Artist Zola defended
94 Cove
95 Hootama-gany's cousin
96 Gallileo's baroque
97 Naval ballows
98 Misfortunes
100 Operatic prince
101 Part of A.D.
102 Strong, durable wood
103 Sins
105 N.Y.C. subway
107 Midwestern fabric

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THE JERUSALEM POST **הַיּוֹמִית** MA'ARIV HA'ARETZ

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Herzliya Pithul, lovely villa, 6 rooms, 02-551717.

Herzliya, for rent, cottage + basement, 02-559543, work; 02-87642, home.

Herzliya, for rent, villa, 4 country-style, furnished, for year, 02-554387.

Kikar Hamedina, penthouse, 6 fully luxurious (\$60), 320,000, 02-455964.

New cottage, 14sq.m., Nere Ilan, Yaffo, 02-63894.

Petel, villas for monthly rent in Zikhron Yehonatan, Tel. 02-451319, 02-451207.

Ramona, cottage for sale, 45 Zifman, Ahd Haam, 16:00-19:00, 02-371192, 02-371193.

Ramona, excellent area, building, Project Oran, 02-34441, 02-34496, 02-34497.

Ramona, luxurious cottage for rent, 6 rooms, 3 bathrooms, garage, 02-44611, 02-267577.

Ramona, prestigious cottage, finishing stages, 7 rooms, tiled roof, fully furnished, 02-31772, 02-48042.

Ramona, cottage, 220 on Mokedam, 20,000, Tel. 02-34119.

Wanted, villa/cottage, house, monthly rent, Ramat Chanan, phone, 02-775002.

Yerid Dor, no agency, Ramat Hasharon, selection of cottages from 130,000. Office: 32 Sokolov, 02-62522, 02-55466, evenings.

Zv-Ard, building in Ramat Hasharon (west), luxurious cottages, 02-85333.

Ashraf, subterranean, pretty villa, 1/4 daman, Tel. 02-52168.

Bargain, Rishon LeZion, luxurious cottage, 6 rooms, well kept garden, 02-51910.

Givat Sayon, luxurious cottage, private land, Ahd Haam Investments, 02-434015.

Modern Hatzefa, Chachai, site, cottage under construction, 02-44615, 02-224742.

Heart of Zikhron Yehonatan for sale in Zikhron Yehonatan, row cottages, special planning + swimming pool, semi-detached cottage for immediate occupancy, 02-70669.

Herzliya Pithul, 6 semi-detached + 1/4 daman plot, R.S.M. 02-62496, 02-48042.

Herzliya Pithul, Rehov Hamedina, 1/4 daman, 1/4 daman, 02-554387.

Herzliya Pithul, luxurious villa, unique, 2 daman, 300,000, Baya Vega, 02-49491.

Herzliya Pithul, near sea, pretty cottage, 4 bedrooms, very large lounge, 02-400,000, Cohen Levine, Kikar Hamedina, 02-557669.

Herzliya Pithul, unique cottage, 400sq.m., 1/4 daman, 02-70669, 02-48042.

Herzliya Pithul, Shikun Shaviv, cottage, 4 + 1/2, 65,000, 02-551935.

Mohr, 6 room villa, 820,000, suitable for doctor, 02-46743.

Kfar Shmaryahu, most luxurious villa, subterranean, 02-70669, 02-48042.

Paradise Hamedina, in Bnei Yehonatan, 220sq.m., frame + roof, finished possible, 02-886615.

Ramona, especially luxurious home for serious only, 320,000, 02-442375.

Ramat Aviv, Excellent location, nice house + well kept garden, 3/4 rooms, 155,000, 02-417810.

For sale, Kikar Ganim, Ramana, 5 room villa + membership for neighborhood swimming pool, from September, 02-521775.

For rent, long term, spin-level cottage, Herzliya Pithul, spin-level cottage, 02-551717.

For rent, selection of villas in Tel Aviv, Ramat Chanan, Kfar Shmaryahu, Shikun Dan, American Professional, 719495.

Flats for Sale

Lovely 3, 1st floor, 43,000, 71,000, weekdays.

Nir Am, 2 1/2 in 2 family + permit to increase, 320,000, 02-325544.

3 - 3 1/2 ROOMS

For religious, 3, 2nd floor, beautiful, 02-30094, no agency.

Ramat Aviv, urgent, enlargement possible, parking, 02-417716, no agency.

Ramat Gan, Hades, 31/2, 4 exposures, parking, 75,000, 74899.

Flats for Rent

Jerusalem, 21/2, 1st floor, on pillars, long term, furnished, 02-240873, 02-251697.

Neat, heating, 4, partially furnished, phone, students, 02-47723.

Flats Wanted

Free service for flat owners who wish to rent, Amal, 02-42376, 02-45729.

Tel Aviv - Yaffo

For weekend home in Jerusalem, finest in quality of life, including air conditioning, view of Old City, maintenance services, swimming pool, peaceful, walking distance from Kotel, at King David Court, Ambassador, 02-688101.

2 - 2 1/2 ROOMS

Bargain, 2 in north, Derech Haifa, near, 3rd floor, beautiful, spacious, 02-44038.

Bargain, 2 1/2, 51 Derech Shalom, Tel Aviv, 4th floor, 319,299, evenings.

Near Kikar Hamedina, Sharet, 2 large, 2nd floor, immediate, Pac. Real Estate, 02-4141.

North/Gordon! Well kept 2, rent, 72,000, Baya Vega, 02-49491.

Sderot Chanan, 2 for office/residence, front, 1st floor, 02-434379, 02-281764.

Bank Tefat, the biggest mortgage bank in the country, invites Housing Ministry eligible to receive mortgage and to enjoy membership in the Silver Key Club.

Ben Yehuda, 2 rooms, furnished, 850,000, Tel. 236746, 236707.

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Opposite Bavi, 2 rooms + 1/2, 2nd floor, 02-240529, weekdays.

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Ramat Hasharon, 2 in 2 room building, 4th, 1st floor, 4 1/2, 2nd floor, 02-434015.

Neve-Li contractors, 61 Sokolov, 02-67595.

Servant Aviv, Ramat Aviv Gimel, furnished display flat, 5 rooms, 146sq.m., open for visitors, Sunday - Thursday, 17:00-19:00, Tuesday, Friday, 10:00-12:00, Saturday, 11:00-13:00, 17:00-19:00, Africa Israel Investments Ltd., 02-603281.

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3 furnished for monthly rent + phone, north Tel Aviv, 318307.

Major Aviv, 3 rooms, for year and more, 490263, 479585.

Neve-Tzayim, near, 4 + 1/2, 2nd floor, furnished, on pillars, immediate occupancy, 02-244512.

Seeking religious flatmate for apartment in separate location, Tel Aviv, 02-286297.

For tourists! For summer months, villas and penthouses in Tel Aviv, Ramat Chanan, Ashdod, Zikhron Yehonatan, 02-451319, 02-451207.

North, 3 rooms, 3rd floor, front, 02-434379.

Ramat Aviv Gimel, 3, 8th floor, furnished, facing sea, 419185.

Sderot Nordan, 3 rooms, 1st floor, on pillars, front, 448357, 837822.

Zikhron Yehonatan, 3, 4th floor, no lift, 49321, 475292.

3 in Tel Aviv centre, nice, pleasant, well arranged, for serious, 290358.

Foreign residents! 3 (was 6) on pillars, 4 Katerzonen, Tel Aviv, possible to use as 22, 24, between, 9:00-12:00 or by arrangement, Abnatis Ltd., 02-24872.

Luxury, 3, 3 1/2, 3 1/2, on pillars, 02-434379.

Near Maman Auditorium, 2nd floor, quiet, 02-77643, 02-312628, 02-424941.

Ramat Gan, Nerga, 1st floor, on pillars, 2 exposures, 3, 2nd floor, balconies, quiet, 02-41544, 02-41544, not Shabat, or from Sunday, 02-775002.

Ramat Aviv, Elitist, cottage flat, 4, 80,000, 02-54613.

Ramat Aviv, Elitist, 3 + 1/2, work area, 80sq.m., 95,000, 02-41544.

Sharet, from foreign residents, 3 bedrooms, 140sq.m., high story, 2, 2nd floor, 02-55960.

Tel Aviv, 3, 3rd floor, 3 bedrooms, 140sq.m., high story, 2, 2nd floor, 02-55960.

Yehonatan, 3 1/2, 3rd floor, 3 bedrooms, 140sq.m., high story, 2, 2nd floor, 02-55960.

Herzliya Pithul, Rehov Hamedina, 1/4 daman, 1/4 daman, 02-554387.

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Herzliya Pithul, Rehov Hamedina, 1/4 daman, 1/4 daman, 02-554387.

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3 - 3 1/2 ROOMS

Bnei Brak border Ramat Gan, 3 + 1/2, ground floor, in two-story, 25476.

Bnei Brak, 3 rooms, quiet, religious area, separate entrance, 02-788416.

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Ramat Gan, 3 1/2, 2nd floor, 6 residents, available immediately, S.A. Etzion, 02-91001, 02-91001, 02-91001.

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Gila, 3 + phone, solar boiler, heating, Isco, \$175, Tel. 02-491735.

Gila, 2nd floor, 3 + electric, phone, solar boiler, heating, Tel. 02-74960.

Gila, 4, phone, modern kitchen, be cozy, Tel. 715891, weekdays.

Gila, 4/6, phone, double conveniences, furnishing possible, Tel. 712000.

Gila, 4, phone, view, for year, unfurnished, Tel. 63632.

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Paz, 3/4, phone, kitchen, cupboards, 2nd floor, Tel. 02-627273.

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Kiryat Moshe, 3, phone, heating, cupboards, \$230, Tel. 222602.

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Mizpeh Menachem, 3, unfurnished, phone, view. 202-053234.

Nave Yashov, centre, 3, phone, immediate. 1506, 666772.

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Ramat, 3, second floor, kitchen, cupboards. 577785, 246267.

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Ramat, religious area, 3, phone, 170, Tel. 02-430785, home.

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For religious! Gilo, 4/4, ground floor, balcony for sun. 230, 951079.

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Giv' Zevi, immediate, 3, 2nd floor, possibly furnished. 817172, 717631.

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Telaplat, 2½ + balconies, TV, washing machine, from Tel. 02-721050.

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Old Katamon, 2, Meir Haim, 3, 71823.

Ramat Denya, 4, 2nd floor, well-lit, phone, for 1 year, 02-61890, 63803.

Romema, 2½ + phone, solar boiler, 3rd floor, 02-81780, nr Shab'at.

Sar Martin, 3 fully furnished, phone, Tel. 02-61860, Arnel Habiza, 5½, luxurious, for 1 year, 02-43150, weekdays.

Tourists, vacationers, for short periods, Talmiet-center, 1-2 rooms in furnished flat + phone, 02-666219.

Telaplat, 2 room flat, furnished, heating, immediate, 02-12153.

Arnon Gnat, for religious, 4 rooms, furnished, 4th floor, Tel. 02-53263.

Beyt Yovel, 3, phone, heating, parking, for Shabbat observant, 02-663011.

Beyt Yovel, Shikun Hishcon, one-room flat, 120, available, 523003.

Beit Hakram, 3, fully furnished, phone, 10.84-6.85, Tel. 525150.

Centre, Kiryat George, 2½, beautiful, phone, 1th, 300, 526598.

French Hill, 300, Sueden, furnished, 4 rooms flat, 819250, 816661.

Kiryat Hayovel, Bnei-Menachem, 2½, furnished, solar boiler, phone, 02-541277, afternoons.

Kiryat Moshe, 13 Shoshana, 2½, phone, 3rd floor, 536229, weekdays.

Kiryat Moshe, 4 rooms, phone, 02-59114, home, 02-558247, work.

Kiryat Yovel, Stern, 3, beautiful, phone, 3180, 02-812153.

Nicaragua, 2, phone, complete, 1st floor, from August, 02-415260, 02-431913.

Old Katamon, opposite Beit Elshava, 2, phone, 200, 222806, 426268.

Ramat, 4 room, heating, 02-53330, afternoons.

Rehova, 2, phone, fully furnished, 300, from 1.8.84-1.7.85, 02-660142.

Rehova, 2½, phone, 3rd floor, for religious couple, from 1.8.84, 02-666000.

Rehov Hankevet, 5, garden, furnished, phone, for year, 710474.

Telaplat, 3, fully furnished, extra, phone, 320, 721919.

Telaplat, 4, spacious, balconies, phone, heating, 02-877563.

Yafa Tel, 3, completely equipped, for 5 months from August, 52309.

3-4 in centre, 4, Kiryat Shmuel, 5, Telaplat, Monita, 02-221314.

French Hill, 3, fully furnished, phone, from September for year, Tel. 525002.

French Hill, 4; Ramat Eshkol, 3, Yosef, 3, Yach, 248012, Malden.

Ho, 3, phone, refrigerator, stove, kitchen and fitted cupboards, double bed, 2nd floor, 815182.

Hayeh Berlin, 3, phone, Avi Cohen, 228922, 233215, Malden.

Jewish Quarter, wonderful house, 3, prido, roof, view, Talmiet, 67114.

Kiryat Yovel, 2, fully furnished, phone, private heating, solar boiler.

Kiryat Yovel, 2 rooms, garden, phone, Tel. 41549, 431883.

Neve Oron, 4, 2nd floor, spacious, 400, Domion, 249366, 639053.

Old Givat Mordechai, 3 + phone, 5220, 02-555832, 02-660385.

North, 3½ large, phone, parking possibility, immediate, 02-234768.

Old Katamon, 3½ + garden, also suited for vacationers, 02-534775, evenings.

Palmah, garden-floor, 2½, well-lit, quiet, 260, Lafayette Realty, 660956.

Telaplat, 4, furnished, 2 closed balconies, everything first rate, 03-906265.

Thess, 3, fully furnished, luxurious, 360, Lafayette Realty, 660956.

Yagupat, fully furnished 3 room flat, fully furnished kitchen, phone, washing machine, solar and electric boiler, August-1 September 15, at least 3 week term, \$17 per day, Tel. 02-66048.

Beyt Yovel, 3, magnificent penthouse, 4½, view, 1th, for August, 415731.

Beginning of Shmouni, 4, from September to July 1985, 02-63729.

Beit Hakram, 2, furnished, phone, for summer, 52715.

Beit Hakram, 3½, 330, Stern, 3, 101, 410587.

Kiryat Yovel, 3 + beautiful garden, phone, solar boiler, 55901, 533494.

Nor Theatre, 3, beautiful, furnished and equipped, from September, 639818.

New Givat, 4, phone, central heating, 7th floor, bargain price, 02-533626.

Neve Grunzt, magnificent flat, 4½, furnished, phone, immediate, 639141.

Telaplat, 3, 2nd floor, \$400, 02-663322, 02-71787.

Telaplat, 4, furnished, phone, 72330.

Flats Wanted

Every good flat, 3-4 rooms, in good area, will be sold through us within week! Purchasers are waiting, immediate deals! **02-233171, 2496001.**

Flats required: 4-5 rooms, Rehavia, Tel Aviv, Old Katamonim, Kiryat. **347378.**

Girl: New 3, 1st-2nd floor, sun, cash payment! **600595.**

Tourist looking for 2-room flat to buy in Ramat Shimon! Preferably on bus line! **Michael Starr, Ltd., 241367, 223017.**

Urgent! Best Hakerem, 4-room payment. **02-240703, 240999.**

Purchase Sale

For Sale

Fitted cupboard, double bed + mattresses, washing machine. **02-87579.**

New Panasonic automatic washing machine. Easy-Phone + remote. **02-690204.**

Philips refrigerator, 3-door, 1540/000. Tel. **24242, evenings.**

Tadlian 400 refrigerator. Pesan style carpet, table, television. **02-713125.**

Bargain. General Electric airconditioner, 1500 B.T.U.. in packing. **02-81949.**

Colour television, washing machine + many household accessories. **665463.**

Due to departure, household content + electric appliances. **02-1708, evenings.**

Electronic cash register, 4 departments. **02-342318.**

For immediate sale, photocopying machine, office equipment, furniture. **02-818232.**

General Electric, 24cu. Sony television 27" new Britannica, miscellaneous. **01-8811.**

Plot in Mizpe-Yehuda, bargain. **630995, no Shabbat.**

Display table, glass, photocopying machine, cash register. Tel. **019013 from noon, weekdays.**

Stereo, electric guitar, bicycle, more. **067566, evenings, no Shabbat.**

Computers

Osborne 64K computer, monitor, software. **02-688977.**

Shoes

New in Pizum Zamir! Long on play on even in Yash payments. From opening record of your choice to the best shoes and accessories through us. **Pizum Zamir, Mekor Baruch industrial zone. Tel. 02-374662.**

Furniture

Beautiful antique furniture, liquidation of current stock at great reductions! **Beit Yeh Tichoni, 02-431447.**

Musical Instruments

Lyrica Russian piano, excellent condition. **01400, Tel. 02-875475.**

For sale, Scholze piano and Generalbach recorder, both excellent. **698912.**

Hapsner, used and new pianos, 13 Ben Shatzat, Tel. **02-344166.**

Klezman pianos are unrivalled in quality and prices, and leading renovation workshop. 2 Corset, Jerusalem: **36 Zamenhof, Tel Aviv.**

Used piano, excellent quality, imported from Germany. 12 Ben Shatzat, **342625.**

Refrigerators

Refrigerator, General Electric 22, excellent condition! Like new! **02-54772.**

Tadlian 425 refrigerator, 2 months use. **02-835755.**

Westinghouse refrigerator, 18 cubic, excellent condition! **222550, weekdays.**

Stereos

Luxury stereo system. Toren, Sami. **E.R.3, 04000, Tel. 02-413566.**

Personnel

Situations Vacant

Assistant/typist/secretary for dental, experience. **242244, 19.00-20.00.**

Atarec, lacemount weeks: chemical technicians; bookkeeper, typing. **02-851488.**

Boyer boarding school, group house-keeping required. **02-430577.**

Check for office management, 5 days, good conditions. **223586.**

Domestic, 4 days, Abu-Tor, 716083, evenings.

Housekeeper, 3 times weekly, references. **812695.**

Industrial plant requires switchboard operator, **07-30-45 150, 02-578302.**

Technician for laboratory, work with cell-lines, background of sterile work. **POB 6330, Jerusalem.**

Traditional man, speaking Yiddish and English, good character, as companion and attendant to elderly man. **01-81901.**

Travel agency seeks experienced bookkeeper, part time. **277695.**

Computer company requires skilled keypunch operators and keypunch operators for Eilat computers, also apprenticeship operators. **02-532708.**

David, electronic assembly and soldering team head. **02-227105.**

Daoudi: writers, sediters, circuit assemblies. **02-227105.**

East Tatpott community center, experienced team for day care centers, 1 kindergarten teachers, 3 metaplot, 1 coordinator, kindergarten teacher for 100 children. **02-718777, no Shabbat.**

Institute requires social counselor for games guidance, professional counselor for copper, wood, arts and crafts. **02-633334, 02-633191, no Shabbat.**

Metaplot required for 15 month old boy, references, 6 days **07-30-15.30, 02-961190, afternoons, evenings.**

Ramot, metaplot at our home, for child, 12-30-16.30. **02-818377, weekdays.**

Scharf Furs, Jerusalem: 1) Young energetic furrier, previous, accounting background, previous experience, language mastered an asset. 2) Assistant for furrier, for furrier bookkeeper, full-time work. **710233, Tel. 715121.**

Student as companion attendant for 60-65 year old, driving license essential. **666251, morning.**

Students before/after "my" service, high school, pupils for cleaning work. **02-365618.**

Counselors required for rehabilitation residential unit, for people with mental retardation (children and mature), work during irregular hours. Qualification: Knowledge of social and health sciences as experienced in working with disabled. **02-533211, ext. 304, 02-532044, 08.00-14.00, Leah.**

Oseiran on Wednesday.
all Lebanese Army personnel
withdraw from the office two
days, saying in a letter that he
had no legal status after the
aggravated the May 17.
withdrawal pact with the
March 5.

"In effect, the Lebanon
Liaison Committee exists
its mission was terminated
(Wednesday) upon re-
order," said Col. Fawzi A.
head of the Lebanese Liaison
who was charged with coordinating
Lebanese decision to the
have so far notified the
Israelis twice that Lebanon
solved to close the office
the Associated Press in an
interview.

He said the first time went
ago, when Prime Minister
Karamah said he was or
closure of the liaison com-
again on Wednesday. He
elaborate.

Lebanese are requiring
passes from the liaison
travel to Israel-occupied
Lebanon. A long line of
in the blazing sun outside
every day to acquire passes
only valid for one trip.

Col. Arza said, "You can
it will be difficult for us
travel to Southern Lebanon
the decision to close the
office."

The "Lebanese Forces
control East Beirut and
north of it, including Dheir
close ties with Israel. The
they would not allow them
closed. But their commander,
Frem, said in a recent interview
his militia will not block a
decision to close the office

Established sports shop requires
experienced seamstress, languages: English,
02-6964.

Experienced metapetrol for twins, live-in,
IBM PC computer operator required, full
time, \$275/\$25, 525/02.

Mentor group seeks experienced bookkeeper,
computer knowhow an asset, 02-663131, 02-61242.

Metapetrol for baby, Shindao-Thunday,
02-08-13-30, Shimoni, 665676.

Metapetrol, daily, 13.00-16.00, light
housework, 02-667988.

Business owner required for accounts, unim-
matured 2 years bookkeeping experience,
working days, good conditions for
02-521111, Mashabei-Ezrah.

Metapetrol, metapetrol for afternoons,
\$2.84-\$1.84 plus oil, 635352, Nil.

Metapetrol, energetic manager with in-
novative and modest, full work day,
02-0827-6-9, Giza.

Required, clerk, ex-army, for challenging
job, 02-342018.

Secretary-typist, Hebrew-English, En-
glish mother tongue, some acct, full time
position, 520179, 535022.

School Institute requires aerobic
teacher, Yogan teacher, swimming
coach, 02-660007, until 12.00.

Woman to care for elderly couple
required, references, 09.00-12.00,
02-00-19.00, 02-637269, net Shabbat.

and requires officers for responsible
positions. Appt. 13.00-15.00,
04974.

anal, security man, ex-combat units,
officers course graduates. Apply Pti.
02-2150, 15.00, 244974.

and needs fine mechanics graduate,
training experience, 63 Yaffo, 02-
27105.

Y Tsim health food restaurant seeks
experienced shift supervisor, English
essential, 24723.

Wanted 2 male babys. Tel. 02-813814,
with cerebral palsy. Tel. 02-39474,
Bnei-Zion, Dorot.

Aircraft maintenance factory requires,
experienced clerk, air conditioner tech-
nician, solderer experienced in installa-
tion, 533445.

bookkeeper, preference to those with
experience in tax returns, and to
day-time 2. good conditions and salary,
work week call, 02-521111,
Mashabei Ezrah.

Café Arabi Ennah requires espresso worker
or day-time hours, part time kitchen
worker for evening shifts, student dis-
count, 02-521111.

Dancing jobs, afternoons, (Holomon),
29 Ben Yehuda, 02-22002 (Solomon).

Experienced, full time, English-Hebrew
secretary-typist, Sunday
evening, 8.00-16.00, Tel. from Sun-
day, 661234, Yehuda.

Jobs required for all shifts, Heshom-
er, 29 Ben Yehuda, 02-22002.

Modern food factory requires experi-
enced food technologist + experience,
Tel. 02-6637, weekdays, 02-623555.

Nature Care company offers courses
for beauty businesses with high per-
centage of profits, 02-875563.

Nature Care company requires upholsterers,
Tel. 63-33320, Darya.

Non-skilled workers and porters, call
02-63-33320, Darya.

Real estate office seeks salespersons,
33376, evenings.

Real estate office seeks agents in all
regions, 246666.

Rear Company security needs security men
from combat units for university on
campus, Tel. 02-6637, weekdays, 02-623555.

Security guard, good salary, 72 Rehov Ya'ari,
02-24057, 02-22667.

Housewife wanting to join rest home,
high profits. For meeting, 633976,
02-09-21.00.

Seek for car waitress, 08.00-15.00, call
02-66005, afternoons.

Developing office requires agents +
telephone. High income, part-time pos-
sible, Tel. 02-232141.

English-speaking attendant required
for elderly couple, 2hs hours daily,
02-635065.

For jewelry factory, experienced
workers in fine mechanics and silversmith-
ing, Tel. 02-717225, from Sunday,
02-635065.

General manager seeks responsible ex-
perienced secretary, Hebrew-English
typing, private vehicle, 628750.

Independent bookkeeper, full-time,
or developing and young enterprise,
Tel. 02-635064.

Insurance company seeks clerk with
knowledge of bookkeeping and general
accounting in accordance, 02-635065,
02-09-13.00.

Intelligent person required for clinic,
02-635065, suitable for religious, Tel.
02-635334.

Jewelry factory requires workers, will
be trained in gold branch, Tel. 02-
717225, from Sunday, 02-635065.

Large jewelry shop requires salesperson
for jewellery, knowledge of lan-
guages an asset, Tel. 717225, Snd.

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dollars on be
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These stories we
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"James Bond"
nicknamed "Me
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But the scale o
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market forces - t
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...achon Mir requires trainee-director
Hebrew Ulpan, afterwards, 3 hours
or 5, experience necessary. Tel.
02-5997, 02-531900.

...modern parents' home require
a modern person with training in
electricity, plumbing and
mechanics. Tel. 69801, weekdays.

...RS requires CNC operator, perma
nent job. Apply 5 Even Yissel, facing
Jaffa cinema. Tel. 574717.

...RS requires senior electronics en
gineer, permanent job. Tel. 02-247417.

...RS requires superb Hebrew-Engl
ish translators, high salary. Tel. 02-247417.

...government work, good salary, for car
pooled owners, 665540.

...experienced, professional, experienced
oil-baker for natural foods. 773497.

...secretary required, Hebrew-Engl
ish, typing, split shift possible. Call 526017,
4895.

...wanted for bookkeeping office.
Bookkeeper with experience, possibly
needed. 727225.

Situations Wanted

...bookkeeper, 20 years' experience, in
terested in work in his home. 02-814853.

Business

...theatre, shop for rent + conveniences
phone, water. 02-716346, 02-225746.

...owner of shop, 107sqm, on Yaffo,
prime market, interested in any
business. 245039.

Investment

...an investment, 11,220 chman, 8 compo
nents, 3,600 sqm, commercial, con
struction possibility. Gal Hed (Mal
med), Tel. 25068, 227064.

...experienced shipping and transporta
tion business, steady income, vehicles,
communication equipment and relati
onship possibility requires active investor/
trustee. For serious only. POB 744,
Jerusalem.

...chaviva, doctor with clinic seeks doc
tor as partner. Tel. 02-543821.

...various office services, typing, answer
ing services, furnished office, short
term. Tel. 02-245383.

Hotels

...all, 250sqm in beautiful furnished,
central site, 150, near King George St., avail
able daily till 15.00, any-purpose. 02-
51373, Tel. 02-245241.

...all rooms required, monthly rental,
100sqm, in new serviced workshop. 02-
543030.

Industrial Premises

...seller ready, monthly rent, 180m +
rental, ready for work. Tel. 28257,
Tel. 02-245383.

Offices

...office for rent, 3 rooms. 02-
29524, 02-246307.

...own your private office with secretary,
100 sqm. Tel. 02-345833.

...theatre, for rent, room complex, hall,
bar, restaurant. 639471.

...or (desired) 21 Struma, 2 large, im
proved. Tel. 02-671267.

...unfurnished room for office, 3 Bes
sara. Tel. 02-229551.

...for monthly rent, 160sqm, excellent
location in town centre, Tsimoni (Mal
med), Tel. 02-221451-4.

...office, 2, 23 Hillel, 2nd floor, phones,
etc. 225001.

...surprising prices, new luxurious
office, exclusive location, worthwhile
investment. Tel. 02-245556.

Plots

...Migdalim Dunes in Ramat Kidron
developed! Tel. 02-861923, 02-
19113.

Shops

...for serious only! Monthly rent, neigh
bourhood supermarket, only one in
area. Tel. 02-862429.

...in Triangle (Yaffo), for monthly rent,
shop. 140sqm. Tel. 02-666110, office.

...wanted. Tel. 02-245383.

...wanted, Claude Annem. 537423, days,
evening.

...for rent, in city centre (triangle),
100sqm, 2 levels, wide frontage, for
serious only, Anglo-Saxon. 02-221161,
Malmed.

...for rent, store on Midechov, without
plastic windows. 722670, evenings.

...Cichu and Men Shearim, private stores
and storerooms. 222471.

...office, 200sqm, shop, 180sqm, 2
levels, immediate, 552,000, Dur Not,
Tel. 02-243021.

General

Announcements

...in town centre opens September
qualified kindergarten teacher, 116
years. Tel. 02-234822.

[illegible]

Bank of Israel had not held the there would have been per falls," said one trader, the feeling on the floor is support is linked to the and they may well decide that they can't afford sums any more."

le of the selling shows that ing primarily from the sector, although there be individuals selling as reason for this rush to kkel assets is the desire to s, either as an investment of debt denominated inurrency.

more, investors are well t the current determina- Bank of Israel and the to prevent a sharp drop in of the various government s, is likely to prove very

in the immediate pre-eriod, it would be most ing to the government to a major slump in the capital or what remains of it. The e of the official and unoffi-price - a there can be no n at this stage, nor even a lide in the shekel on the shekel.

the outpouring of enor-ns, uncovered in the n maintain existing price nds, shares and dollars, ic is hastening to take of the "end-of-season atmosphere, before the y passes. Thus they are kkel-denominated invest- buying dollars, thereby -post-election devaluation, nected in any case, in-likely.

Flats

A. Ruch, Harefah, 4, 057-416355, 417944, Sunday.

amel, Baccarat, 715, + phone, well furnished, 144-85478, 04-535475.

at Tivon, lovely house, 215, for 2 sleeping flat + balcony, furnished, 144-87533, 04-9235472.

2, furnished, phone, immediate, 04-5233615.

5, balcony, view, long term, 04-527038, BneiEzer.

Furnished Flats

00mm, 4 rooms, phone, parking, 04-525901, Tel. 04-525901.

00mm, 2, phone, 170, 04-758, Haifa.

Flats Wanted

at Ramat Hasharon house to rent, Tivon or Ramat Hasharon, minimum 415, 04-933559, 065-113, not Shabbat.

Personnel

Situations Vacant

chemist needed familiar with dyeing, residing near Beit Zvi, at number one export factory in Haifa, challenge and advancement opportunities in modern factory and curriculum vitae to P.O.B. 846, Tel. 04-527435, Mr. Zevi.

Domestic HELP

needed metacpel needed for child, 1 room, room, board, salary, 03-263, 04-479385.

Business

interested in store for monthly rent, Ramat, Herzl area, 04-855559.

sole in Rehov HaEzeron Haifa, clothing, mail order with goodwill and equipment. Details at 04-6137748.

Investment

keeper's helper, possibility of 4-5 yrs. POB 33334, Tel. 04-527038.

service restaurant in Haifa Uni-versity requires clerk with knowledge and curriculum vitae to P.O.B. 846, Tel. 04-527435, Mr. Zevi.

Industrial Premises

sole rent, industrial structures, 500 sq. m., 04-527038.

Offices

Rehov Herzl centre, 90 sq.m., monthly rent, in modern office building, 5th floor, phone, P.O.B. Haifa, 03-1053.

for Nazareth, offices for rent, Tel. 04-70269.

Plots

area and Deniya, plots for immediate building and investment, 04-527038, Tel. 04-527038.

for construction or large plot, area and plot, Sigmon Sargent, 04-242-55.

Shops

for Krayot area, shops for rent, 04-527038.

for Shannan, corner Trumpeldor, 100 sq.m., monthly rental, Ruth Cohen, 04-26247, 04-474115.

General

Services

furnishing, furniture renewal in Ramat Hasharon, Tel. 04-712979.

Negev

ROOMS & MORE

at, corner, 4 rooms, discrete, 3 fitted bedrooms, 057-3016.

Ashdod

ROOMS & MORE

individual, opposite sea, 100sq.m., 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, solar heater, conveniences, 37,000, mortgage, 11,000 monthly mortgage, 2000 cash, and future keys Claude Amran, 02-423423 daytime; 02-765970, evenings.

Netanya

ROOMS & MORE

at, corner, 4 rooms, discrete, 3 fitted bedrooms, 057-3016.

Ashdod

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at, corner, 4 rooms, discrete, 3 fitted bedrooms, 057-3016.

Ashdod

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MORDECHAI BEN-PORAT was irate on the day we met. His wrath was directed at the Likud propaganda TV spot showing its campaign chief, David Levy, in Or Yehuda claiming credit for the improvement of services there, especially the town library. "The Likud can claim credit for Masada in its propaganda movies, because there are no witnesses. But they can't do that with Or Yehuda. After all, I laid the foundation stone of the library," he told me.

Ben-Porat, more than anyone else, can claim credit for what Or Yehuda has become. It was he who was sent by David Ben-Gurion in 1955, after he returned from organizing the Zionist underground among the Jews of his native Iraq. There he quickly assumed the leadership of the bewildered, new immigrants, mostly from Iraq. Soon he was elected chairman of the local council, and re-elected time and again for the next 10 years, during which he moulded the immigrant community into the township of Or Yehuda.

He still lives there with his Polish-born wife, whom he met during the War of Independence, when he was a major and she a sergeant. The Ben-Porats are the model of an integrated Israeli family.

Ben-Porat remains a Ben-Gurionist, having followed the Old Man out of Mapai into Rafi in 1965, when the new party managed to win two local authorities - Teddy Kollek in Jerusalem and Ben-Porat in Or Yehuda. Even after he quit his role in local government to concentrate on national politics, the people of Or Yehuda continued to regard him as their guardian angel, coming to him for succor in their hours of need.

Ben-Porat has not only kept his home in the town but has opened, in one of its few imposing buildings, the world centre of the Iraqi Jewish Heritage, which demonstrates in a most positive manner the signal contribution of the 1,000-year-old community to the Jewish people and to the Jewish state. He built up the centre parallel to the World Organization of Jews from Arab Coun-

tries (WOJAC), which continues to remind the world of the sufferings of Jewish refugees from Arab lands and of their claims to moral and material reparations. He has also done exemplary work in alleviating the lot of the remnants of the Syrian Jewish community.

Ben-Porat retains an untarnished reputation for honesty and integrity, having cleaved to his principles, despite the cost to his own career. He has never made any accounting of that cost when taking decisions. That was the case when he resigned his seat as minister without portfolio in Yitzhak Shamir's cabinet on January 29. On that occasion, the premier issued an official announcement registering his regret at the minister's resignation, and went on record in praise of Ben-Porat's activities "that have not been awarded suitable publicity. We hope he will continue to handle these affairs... We will be more than happy to co-operate with him in the future." Not a bad testament for a departing coalition partner.

Ben-Porat joined the last government of Menachem Begin in the midst of the Lebanon war, and still believes in the original aim of the operation, although he deplores "the superfluous measures incurred by Arik Sharon's dynamics. He is a man who, once in a position of authority, knows no limitations, and recognizes no authority. He behaved like a paratrooper commander under Moshe Dayan's command in the Sinai Campaign."

As a minister, Ben-Porat was in charge of all the efforts to succor Jews in Arab lands - activities which must still remain unpublished - and of government dealings with the aliyah of the Ethiopian Jews. He was also chairman of the ministerial committee of refugees, producing an interesting set of proposals for solving the Palestinian Arab refugee problem. But due to lack of time they were not taken up.

ALREADY IN THE final months of Begin's premiership, he saw the former premier in decline, and when Shamir was nominated Ben-Porat

Post Political Correspondent Mark Segal talks to Mordechai Ben-Porat (below).

Mister Integrity



joined six Liberal MKs in pressing for a grand coalition. However, the Liberals proved untrustworthy and left him high and dry. So he decided to accept Shamir's offer to remain in the cabinet, although he warned the second Likud premier that his coalition had shaky foundations and would not last long. He hung on until mid-January, finding it impossible at last to be a party to such a sorry conducting of the nation's affairs.

When it came to the fateful vote on dissolving the 10th Knesset, Ben Porat found that his vote was the crucial one. He sought to compel the two big parties to form a grand coalition. While Shamir was ready to try, Peres was hesitant. "That was in

direct contrast to the situation six months previously, when both leaders were at first for a national unity government. Then Shamir dropped the idea because of the opposition of the Likud's David Levy and Labour's Yitzhak Rabin," he remembers.

On the eve of the vote, he found himself courted by the big parties. Old friends from the Hehalutz movement in Baghdad like Shlomo Hillel appealed to his sentiments, while Yael Dayan-Ston spoke of her late father Moshe Dayan and his comradeship in Rafi and Telem. They did their best to mollify his sense of resentment over the baseless charges spread by Labour

Knesset Faction Chairman Moshe Shahal after Ben-Porat voted with the government on the compensation to Yarmut evacuees. Shahal had spread the story that Ben-Porat had been "bought" by a Likud promise of the communications portfolio.

"As I said in the Knesset at the time, only a man who is accustomed only to doing things in return for rewards can talk like that," he recalls in an injured tone. The next stage of the Labour courtship was breakfast with Peres, who brought Rafi Edry along with him. Later, Ben-Porat notes, Edry claimed that he had engineered the whole thing.

In his talk with Peres, the two discussed ideological issues, such as Labour's stand on the future status of settlements in the West Bank and Peres' position on making Tami's Aharon Abuhazzeira a minister in a Labour-led coalition. "I was not enlightened by either answer," Ben-Porat remarks drily. Peres even told him he was amenable to a national coalition, but only after elections.

"Although I know shortened the life of the 10th Knesset by one and a half years and thus my parliamentary career, I resolved that it was best for the country to have early elections to prevent the government being subject to blackmail by the small parties. At no time did I discuss - contrary to the ensuing smear campaign - a place on the Labour list. And the fact is, I am running alone," he declares.

The day of the Knesset vote, he went to see Shamir at 4 p.m. Neither the Likud nor Labour were aware of his decision, the latter convinced until the show of hands that he would go with the Likud. The government continued its wooing until the last moment and he was offered "an important cabinet portfolio."

"I said to myself: after 40 years of public life, if I go against my instincts, I won't be able to look at myself in the mirror any more. People said I had sold myself to Peres, but I didn't care because I knew I had kept faith with my principles," Ben-Porat recalls.

HE AGONIZED for a fortnight

about his next move, and even considered sitting out these elections. "In the end I came to the conclusion that whoever took my seat in the Knesset would do a worse job than I had. I lacked money and had no millionaire backers. Soon I began to get public feedback, first from my longstanding supporters of the Movement for Zionist Renewal, who had voted in 1981 for Telem. Then I began to get a response from sizeable segments of the public who asked me to be 'our man in the Knesset'."

Distinct components of his constituency are not only former immigrants from Iraq, especially in the Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak and Petah Tikva areas, but also a sizeable part of the country's 150,000 vegetarians and supporters of natural medicine, of which Ben-Porat has been an outspoken advocate in high places. Then he was joined as his No.2 by Bank Leumi staff committee national chairman Shlomo Efrat, who is Moroccan-born and whose wife comes from Iraq. The list also includes the eminent Hebrew University scholar, Prof. Shmuel Moreh. An indication of the broad reach of Ben-Porat's constituency is the presence of Captain Markowitz, head of the Seamen's Union, who is among his most vocal supporters.

When he addresses audiences, the former minister recalls his tough fight in the cabinet to persuade his colleagues to bring the IDF down from the Shouf Mountains to the Awali River line.

"I would nag them at each meeting, and was accused by David Levy, for example, of 'seeking a mad rush' while Dr. Burg accused me of 'endangering national security.' It took three months for them to come round, but only after Chief of Staff Levy submitted the IDF plan to withdraw to the Awali," Ben-Porat recalls. He recalls the cabinet meeting of April 24, 1983, when then Premier Begin brought the draft agreement with the Lebanese Government and the minister argued over various points. "I told them not to print the document on expensive paper, because I knew it would never materialize."

HIS PARTY programme's main recommendations are a grand coalition to get the country moving again and electoral reform. Here he recalls his tough fight throughout the years before he managed to get a direct mayoral elections bill enacted by the Knesset.

He wants to continue his fight for clean government and to raise standards in public life. Most important, he would like to be able to combat communal divisions. He speaks wistfully of the Tami ethnic list, "whose leaders have to worry whether their paymasters from overseas will phone them on the eve of a major Knesset vote."

Why has he not joined forces with his old Rafi-Telem colleague, Yigael Hurditz? "I didn't ask him, and he didn't ask me," Ben-Porat replies acidly. He differs from Hurditz in not being a supporter of the Greater Israel ideology. Instead he advocates the kind of pragmatic approach pursued by the late Moshe Dayan, adding: "When I accepted Menachem Begin's invitation to join his government, I set two conditions - no annexation of Judea and Samaria and freedom of voting in religious matters."

A major reason for his break with Labour was the Alignment partnership with Mapam. In 1977, Dayan and Ben-Porat obtained from Begin a commitment not to annex Judea and Samaria and not to allow foreign troops to enter there.

"I approached Labour, seeking a similar declaration about not letting any foreign army into Judea and Samaria. But Peres, Rabin and the late Yigal Allon objected at the time. I'm delighted that, seven years later, they've included that plank in the Labour platform. It's a pity they didn't do it then," says Ben-Porat. "That would have prevented Dayan and me from leaving."

He is such a nice man. I didn't wish to spoil things by pointing out that Dayan had dumped him in 1977, leaving him out in the cold while he played with both parties, finally crossing the lines into the Likud on Labour votes.

THERE ARE some 400,000 Jews of Rumanian origin in Israel today, but can one talk of a "Rumanian vote?"

Well, yes and no, says Yitzhak Artzi, the representative of the Independent Liberal Party on the Alignment Knesset list. Former Rumanians do not vote as a bloc, but they retain a "sensitivity" to things Rumanian.

As a community, the Rumanians have a little chip on their collective shoulder. They feel that their contribution to Zionism and Israel is not adequately recognized - and neither, says Artzi, is their suffering at the

hands of the Nazis and their Rumanian allies.

Artzi, "safe" at number 39 on the Alignment list, is the only former Rumanian running in the elections. He has been deeply involved in the activities of the Independent Liberals and the Rumanian community since his arrival in Israel in 1947.

"I don't make special efforts to court the Rumanian vote," Artzi says, "but a lot of them know me, and of course, I speak their language." He visited Rumania a month ago and comments on the irony that he appears to be far better known

Special sensitivity

By ROY ISACOWITZ / Jerusalem Post Reporter

among the Jews there than he is in Israel.

The potential importance of Artzi's connections did not escape the leaders of the Labour Party either. In keeping with a 1981 agreement, they included him in a realistic place on the party's Knesset list. Artzi commends Labour chairman Shimon Peres who, he says, saw the inclusion of the Independent Liberals as a means of widening Labour's base.

The Independent Liberals have fallen on hard times since their heyday as perennial coalition partners of the Alignment. At their height, they held four Knesset seats, a respectable bargaining position in the Israeli political setup.

But the advent of the short-lived Democratic Movement for Change led to a precipitous drop in the ILP's support. Artzi reasons that his party, being a member of Alignment coalitions before the 1977 elections, was tarred with the Labour brush. Voters wanted a change from Labour, and the ILP was cast aside as well.

Only one ILP member was elected to the Knesset in 1977, and the party failed to pass the minimum vote

requirement in 1981. But the 13,000 votes the party garnered in the last elections went to waste due to the lack of a surplus votes agreement. Consequently, the anti-Likud bloc lost at least one seat - and maybe even two, given vagaries of the electoral system.

AT ITS PEAK, the ILP had the support of some 50,000 voters. Artzi says. With the DMC having gone the way of all fly-by-nights, and Herut "having amply demonstrated its disdain of liberal principles," Artzi is hopeful for resurgent support this time around.

A party cannot long sustain itself without national (Knesset) representation, Artzi says. The ILP has municipal representatives and an active Histadrut faction, but the lack of a national profile makes it difficult to put across the party's message. It also means no state subsidy, which is a very real concern.

The decision to go with Labour was not an easy one. In 1981, the party voted against an identical proposal - and found itself out in the cold. This time it did not make the same mistake. Artzi says that the agreement with Labour guarantees

Strange work

MUSIC

CONCERT OF CHAMBER MUSIC: Vera Vaidman, violin; Emanuel Gruber, cello; Ben-Haim, piano (Tel Aviv Museum, July 19). Mozart: Trio in E major, K. 542; Paul Ben-Haim: Variations on a Hebrew Theme; Schumann: Trio No. 2 in F major, Op. 68.

MOZART'S TRIO is a rather strange work, not really a trio at all. The piano part is dominant throughout all three movements, while the violin is subordinated to a less than secondary part. The cello is actually no more than a baroque continuo, intervening only occasionally.

This was Krasovsky's great chance, and he grabbed it with both hands, presenting us with an unusually eventful piano part of great warmth and outgoing expression. Despite the dry and unresponsive instrument at his disposal, he not only modulated his tone continuously but achieved a real singing quality, with highly idiomatic phrasing. Vera Vaidman, on the other hand, was unable to match him in either tone quality or musicality and the Trio gave the impression of being a piano sonata with violin accompaniment.

Fortunately, with the next work things changed completely.

Ben-Haim's Variations on a Hebrew Theme, composed in 1939, united the three musicians into a real team, with the honours this time equally shared by all three players.

The work starts with a beautiful, slow, impressionistically coloured introduction but then develops a lively and very active texture in which all three instruments participate intensively.

The performance was remarkably alive, advancing in melody and rhythm with forceful determination and perfect coordination. The trio also developed an impressive sound volume, cellist Emanuel Gruber contributing authority and character.

The same excellent team-work was evident in the Schumann, each participant integrating into the steady forward drive of the music. The result was a real discourse, in which nothing of what Schumann had to tell us remained hidden. This was a beautiful performance. It should encourage the trio to strive for even more impressive achievements.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

CORRECTION

In Yohanan Bochen's review of the Youth Concert of the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra which appeared on July 10, the woodwind section should have read as wind band and the birds were of Rumanian origin and not as published.

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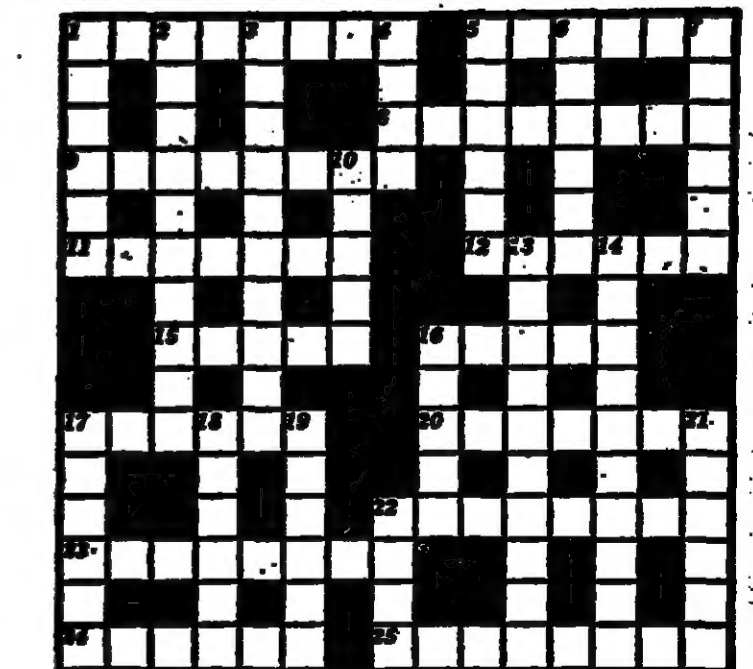
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TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- Trail blazer, could one say? (4,4)
 - Coin operated, this device, in old laundry (6)
 - Not Lasso worrying some swimmers (3,5)
 - Air Force dropping charges? They ought to! Put them out after dark, as it were (7)
 - Set out tea, all around the grounds (6)
 - White elephant; may add to the price on his head! (5)
 - Pump for a drink (5)
 - Keeps trails off the main line (9)
 - Lapsed theologian that is put in, dismissed by bowler, perhaps (4,3)
 - Insect to run off to marry gazelle! (6)
 - Old unit of measurement sailor used in navigation (4,4)
 - Some quake, as terrible Christian festival appears (6)
 - Put off a person who showed respect like this! (8)

- DOWN**
- Having account in this bank, overdrafts aren't necessary (6)
 - One thinking it's brilliant name for him! (6,4)
 - Played with this warning device fitted to a Citroën, maybe? (6,4)
 - May be taken as unemployment benefit... (4)
 - ... And it can't be taken in certain conditions (6)
 - Orders holy man to accept them being called this (6)
 - Again, start to make a summary, by the look of it (6)
 - Try to get angry at last - and irritable (6)
 - Holiday on the beach for those tired of sailing? (5,5)
 - Night - watchman whose business is looking up (10)
 - Dean's ordered from this chair (5)
 - Not quick and easy (6)
 - Concentrating on getting object (6)
 - Keeps stocking up to order! (6)
 - Stopped writing a story after putting down just two words (3,3)
 - Very dry part of the Sahara? Ridiculous! (4)



'Quickie'

- ACROSS**
- Type of criminal (8)
 - A bill, or sticker (6)
 - Military strongpoint (8)
 - Old ships (8)
 - Sweetened (7)
 - For cleaning furniture (6)
 - Places for buildings, etc (6)
 - Make less narrow (5)
 - Employ wrongly (6)
 - Serious and intent (7)
 - Wandering off (8)
 - A smallish settlement (8)
 - Wakes one up (6)
 - Fragrant flowers (3,5)
- DOWN**
- River and canal craft (6)
 - They study the earth (10)
 - Objects falling from Space (10)
 - Pulls at (4)
 - Separated (5)
 - Very holy people (6)
 - Texas lawman (6)
 - Often, artists' subjects (5)
 - Below the surface (5,5)
 - Fruit (10)

- Source of food (5)
- The one in control (6)
- A planet (6)
- Rowing teams (8)
- Fierce beasts (6)
- Notice (4)

Yesterday's Solutions

FIRE DANCE

ACROSS: 1 Lasso, 8 Cheered, 13 Manilla, 14 Molar, 15 Sump, 16 Smelt, 17 Crank, 18 Jack, 22 March, 23 Orchard, 24 Taurus, 25 Mustang, 26 Yacht, 27 Chess, 28 Ashmead, 29 Budington, 30 Swell, 31 Adorn, 32 Begonia, 33 Student, 34 Orpheus, 35 Freud, 36 Scrub.

سكند من الاحل

Money Matters

Terrible day closes out bad week

TEL AVIV. - A very poor day's trading closed out a terrible week on both bond and share markets yesterday. Selling pressure increased in every sector of the stock exchange, although the focus of activity remains the "arrangement" shares and government bonds.

Only a week ago the market seemed to have fallen into a state of hibernation, with daily turnovers shrinking to almost nothing. Most investors, and certainly the Bank of Israel, would have been only too pleased if that pattern had held through this week as well. But the opposite has been the case, as the public has moved to take full advantage of the Bank of Israel's readiness to soak up all the stock brought to market with only minimal falls in price. (Story on page 1).

Yesterday was another in a string of trading sessions which saw bond prices fall by up to 3 percent in many series. However, the bond index, which measures the overall movement of the bond market, only lost a fraction of a percent. In fact, on only one day did this index fall by more than one percent, and this - more than the price movements of individual bonds, reflects the massive support lent to the market by the central bank. Certainly, no-one else was active on the buying side, and

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By PINHAS LANDAU

there can be no doubt that without this support, the outcome would have been very different. The same applies, of course, to the group of bank shares which are covered by the umbrella of the "arrangement," and therefore benefit from the strong arm of the Bank of Israel. The question remains, what the post-election policy of the bank will be towards the capital market. The feeling among traders is that support on the scale seen this week cannot be expected to continue.

The selling wave did not pass over the "free" market shares. Although the great bulk of the turnover in the share market remains concentrated in the three or four main bank shares, the small amount remaining is enough to exert severe downward pressure on prices, since hardly anyone is willing to buy in the current gloomy and panicky atmosphere.

Yesterday, for example, out of \$1.835 billion traded in shares - the largest figure in a long time - only \$126 million was in non-bank shares (the same old \$1m. that had been the

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices

General Share Index	242.61	-0.71%
Non-bank Index	184.35	-1.99%
Arrangement Bank Index	283.00	-0.04%
Industrial Index	192.25	-1.99%
Bond Index	228.59	-0.37%

Turnovers

Shares	\$1,835.8m.
Bonds	\$1,680.8m.
Total	\$3,516.6m.
Advances	83
Declines	279
of which 5% +	25
of which 5% -	25
"Buyers only"	19
"Sellers only"	19

Bond market trends

4% fully-linked:	Falls to 1.5%
3% fully-linked:	Falls to 1.5%
90% linked:	Falls to 2%
Double-coupon:	Falls to 2.5%
Dollar-linked:	Mixed

Most Active Shares

Leumi	3880	\$516.7m.	n.c.
Hapoalim	8995	\$518.5m.	n.c.
I.D.B.	6131	\$324.5m.	n.c.

Sharpest Moves

Polpak opt.	80	-30	-37.5%
Tip Top opt.	41	-9	-18%
Paged opt.	81	+11	+13.7%

norm for the last four months). In overall terms, this pulled the non-bank index down by 2 percent, but individual shares - including some that are generally regarded as already grossly undervalued - fell by much larger margins.

Notable casualties were the First International Bank, whose excellent figures published earlier this week did not prevent a fall of 8 percent. Clal Israel ISO shares, which also dropped 8 percent. Tefahot and Dubek (10 percent apiece), and Clal Industries, off 7.7 percent.

Despite all this, some shares continue to forge ahead, apparently as the result of "treatment" they are receiving at the hands of investor groups. While Wolfman has paused, perhaps to consolidate, Rapac ISO shares tacked on another 10 percent, and have now more than doubled in price in the last few weeks. Another share showing great strength recently is Rim, which has added 20-30 percent in the last two weeks.

Bank of Israel exchange rates

July 19, 1984	IS
U.S. dollar	263.10
British sterling	346.54
German mark	92.198
French franc	30.027
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Swiss franc	109.00
Swedish krona	31.668
Norwegian krona	31.866
Danish krone	25.244
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Belgian franc (10)	45.598
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Japanese yen (100)	108.14
Irish pound	282.96
Spanish peseta (100)	162.59
Jordanian dinar	686.69
Lebanese lira	43.850
Egyptian pound	215.74

Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")

Bank	Price	Change	% change
OHF	1256	12	+1.0
Marumot	895	896	+0.1
Marumot 0.5	272	274	+0.7
N. American	1805	1810	+0.3
N. American 0.5	1254	1255	+0.1
N. Amer. op	320	321	+0.3
Dan. Mortg	74	74	0.0
Dan. op	187	187	0.0
First Int 10.5	340	340	0.0
FIBI 0.5	319	318	-0.3

Commercial Banks

(part of "arrangement")

Bank	Price	Change	% change
IDB	8995	8995	0.0
IDB 0.5	9310	9310	0.0
IDB op	56200	56200	0.0
Union 0.1	6725	6725	0.0
Discount B	1155	1155	0.0
Discount A	11510	11510	0.0
Discount B	1382	1382	0.0
Mizrahi	3705	3705	0.0
Mizrahi 0.5	3710	3710	0.0
Mizrahi op	1715	1715	0.0

Most Active Shares

Bank	Price	Change	% change
Hapoalim p	6131	6131	0.0
Hapoalim 0.5	6130	6130	0.0
Hapoalim op	23000	23000	0.0
General op	37800	37800	0.0
General op 0.5	14180	14180	0.0
General op 0.1	12000	12000	0.0
General op	770	770	0.0
Dev. Mortgage	380	380	0.0
Leumi op	5300	5300	0.0
Leumi op 0.1	1511	1511	0.0
Leumi op	2451	2451	0.0

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Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")

8	+11	+7.1
5	-5	-2.1
6	+2	+1.1
5	-9	-7.6
0	-25	-5.8
5	n.c.	-
-	-	-

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

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Erwin Frankel
Editor

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Reminder from Beirut

THE OFFICIAL Israeli liaison office in the Dbaiye section of Christian-dominated East Beirut is the last vestige of Israel's goal to maintain direct relations with the ruling authorities of Lebanon.

Lebanon's Sunni Moslem Premier, Rashid Karamah, has for some time been demanding that Israel remove this mission thereby bringing to a close all such official contacts between the two governments. Reports from Beirut yesterday spoke of Karamah's reiterating his demand in a cable to the Israeli Foreign Ministry, and of his issuing orders to all Lebanese officials to refrain from any contacts with the office and its personnel pending Israel's action on his demand.

Israel, for its part, has been at pains to impress the Lebanese with the argument that any agreement for the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from south Lebanon would have to be negotiated directly with the Lebanese government.

The logic behind this stand is that withdrawal would be possible only if Israel could have confidence in the determination and ability of the Lebanese to police southern Lebanon in order to prevent the reinfiltration of Palestinian terrorists into the areas contiguous to Israel's northern border.

Karamah's pressure, abetted apparently by Druse leader Walid Jumblatt, is clearly predicated on the Syrian belief that Israel can be forced to withdraw from Lebanon unconditionally due to domestic pressures within Israel.

It is premature to tell how this war of nerves will end. What is clear is that the Shamir government will certainly not submit to the embarrassment of withdrawing the liaison office so close to the elections.

The renewed Lebanese pressure is in itself an embarrassment, however. For it focusses attention once again on the illusions which guided the government—including Mr. Shamir—in their decision-making in the summer of 1982.

The "grand design" for the Lebanese War was intended to establish a new political structure in Beirut, based on alliance with Israel. Israel's office in Dbaiye and its debilitating occupation of southern Lebanon are what's left of that design.

Having misled Israel so deeply in the Lebanese morass, the government has no formulae for extracting Israel at acceptable cost. It can only roll with the punches.

The bubble revisited

THE SERIES of articles on "boursamania" by our finance reporter, Pinhas Landau, which has appeared on these pages during the past week, documents the hysteria that swept so many Israelis between 1977 and 1983.

Before the stock exchange bubble burst in two bangs in February and October of 1983, an estimated 700,000 households—close to two thirds of the population—whose previous conception of high finance was obtaining a month's credit from the neighbourhood grocer, became self-deluded experts in the technique of making a fast shekel in speculative stocks and in the supposed solidity of bank shares.

The ensnarement of such a large number of Israeli innocents in a rigged stock market which they did not understand and from whose depredations they were not protected by their elected and appointed officials was a result of a combination of factors.

First was the long term infusion of easy money from abroad in the form of foreign aid. Second was a politically motivated Likud policy of economic populism which distributed money from that cornucopia while abetting private greed at the expense of the national economy.

Third was the three-digit inflation of the past five years which drove many Israelis to a frantic search for miracle mechanisms to preserve and enlarge their new found riches.

Fourth was the failure of the system and of its major institutions, including the Stock Exchange itself, the major banks, the Bank of Israel, the Treasury and the Knesset Finance Committee, to insist on restoring sanity and a sense of economic realism to a marketplace gone berserk.

Many Israelis who lost between one third to a half of their savings in the twin shakeouts of 1983 are sadder but wiser today.

Attorney General Zamir demanded, months ago, that an official commission of inquiry be set up to investigate the collapse of the bank shares last October. Such an inquiry would have to include the broader issues of the domination of the stock market by the major banks and the intrinsic conflict of interest in their multiple function as brokers, floaters of their own shares and controllers of so many of the companies whose shares are traded on the exchange. It would also have to examine the role of the Treasury in helping to foment the bubble.

Political motivations may have led Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad to ignore his original promise to take this demand under advisement.

But a new government, intent on restoring public confidence in our financial institutions and official economic policy, must make the appointment of such an inquiry a first order of business.

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STEIMATZKY MEANS BOOKS and press

**GIVE SOLDIERS
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The pendulum swings

By ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

EACH ONE of us knows why he is here. That is why politics can never be just a spectator sport for us. We are committed, like no other electorate on the face of the earth.

Not that we are sure that we really influence the course of events. Political scientists claim that, the higher one climbs the social ladder, the more educated the citizen, the lower the Israeli rates his own political efficacy. Frustration—yes—the feeling is there often enough. But even that is a measure of the sense of commitment.

This is supposed to be a post-ideological period in Israeli politics. But being here is in itself an ideological statement. We measure reality against a sense of values that may not add up to the formalized doctrine of an earlier era, but it is real enough that we can almost taste it.

The stakes are high. They come with the territory. Whatever may be our sense of being able to influence, let alone control, the course of events, we know that the direction the Israeli policy moves, and we move with it. When it violates our convictions, it hits us where we live.

The personality of a nation, like that of an individual, is the sum total of its choices. Some are more important than others. In 1977, for the first time in Israel's history, there was a change in regime. A new majority took control.

WHATEVER ELSE history may ultimately decide as it sits in judgment over these last seven years, that achievement will remain. By its very nature, this is a one-time thing, as all "firsts" must be. Moreover, by introducing a change of control as a structural feature in the Israeli political system, the Likud inaugurated a process that, by its very nature, cannot stay put.

Every beginning carries with it its own end. Today, the pendulum is swinging again, although where it

will come to rest will be known only when the election results are in. Uncharitably, the political pendulum swings with the weight of accumulated failures. This is the way the system should work, a sign of political health, of normality—the elusive core value of Zionism from its earliest stirrings.

Recognition of failure is healthy and normal. Despite the campaign rhetoric, it is no secret even to supporters of the present government and to its finance minister that populism as an economic policy has gone broke, literally and as a political value. Distributing favours indiscriminately to the people, without regard for national priorities, could not possibly work forever.

Political economy involves the allocation of resources for the achievement of national objectives. It is not a way of turning on. Political populism, combined with charismatic leadership, at best can—and did—provide a cover.

Without it, the economic populism of "doing good by the people" cannot conceal what will have to pay the bill. We couldn't take any more, even if we could afford it—which we can't. There is an after-taste of being had.

That is where we are now. The inevitable hangover presents its own problems. But few are likely to let themselves be kidded into taking populist bribery as a substitute for economic policy again.

POPULIST JINGOISM is the other major failure. We are not alone in the land, in the region, or in the world. Populist economics was a way of turning on: populist jingoism, a way of tuning out.

This country knows how to suffer and it knows how to bleed. The body-counts of previous wars, paraded before the public as though they somehow justified the losses in Lebanon, are more than irrelevant.

The Friday Dry Bones



They prove the opposite of what the jingoist apologists contend. The country does not lack guts. It lacks illusions.

It is a sign of basic soundness that Israel is not prepared to take casualties in order to feed a habit. The country woke up the morning after Lebanon to find that Israel was not a super-power after all. We rediscovered that there are limits to our power and limits to power per se.

WE HAVE again discovered that there are others. That was the first step to rediscovering ourselves.

This has obviously not been the case for everyone. Even as the political pendulum swings to a position of balanced sanity, there has apparently been a considerable spin-off within the "nationalist camp" in the direction of super-jingoism, if the polls are to be believed. Even this may prove a blessing in disguise.

for the Israeli political system. A conventional way to deal with disease is to isolate it.

On the other hand, since the discovery of the Jewish terrorist organization, there have been signs of ideological reassessment in at least part of the elitist core of radical chauvinism. Messianic nationalism, if it is to remain in any sense Jewish, carries its own limitations. They are in the sphere of the ethical, as to means, and in the sphere of the Halachic, as to objectives. Dynamiting the way to salvation is more than political irresponsibility. For a believing Jew, it is also apostasy.

There seems to be an Oscar Wilde principle at work in Israeli politics: each movement kills the thing it loves. The most grievous wounds to socialism came at the hands of the Labour movement during the long period of its suzerainty. In 1977, Herut came to power, a movement with an ideological belief in the state as a value in itself. Today, seven years later, the state itself is important, unable to implement policy either in the economy or in the realm of national security.

BUT THE most extreme example of the Oscar Wilde principle is in the field of religion. There may be sages, heirs to the prophets, in Hechal Shlomo, just as there may be American Indians in Tammany Hall. But the spectacle of a chief rabbi trying to put together a political party ticket will survive the coming elections as a symbol of spiritual failure in the political arena, in the same way as the plot to blow up the mosques on the Temple Mount will, in the religious arena.

Judaism has suffered even longer than socialism and statism at the hands of its political tribesmen, for it has suffered both during the rule of Labour and that of the Likud. Do clericalism and territorial fetishism represent the Jewish content of the Zionist state?

Here may come a major contribution of Jews from Islamic countries to Israel's political culture. As the Hafia sociologist Professor Sami Samuoch, has pointed out, the very definition of a religious-secular cleavage is an "Ashkenazi" creation, divorced from traditional Jewish concepts. The disintegration of the national-religious camp may open the way to a new synthesis.

The country is ripe for a spiritual reawakening. The political pendulum responds, as democratic political systems normally do, to the rules of reward and punishment. That is why personality plays such a minor role in the current election campaign.

But the pendulum's search for balance, in a sense, for sanity, is also a rejection of the materialism that has infected every area of national life. It is most apparent in the economic sphere, where materialism, as the form of populist economics, has led us to the verge of social disintegration. However, it is also the basic vice of populist jingoism, where the spiritual value of the return to the land has been demeaned to the level of a land-grab, with racist and false messianic overtones.

This nation is old enough to understand and young enough to grow.

The writer is a political scientist.

READERS' LETTERS

SHOCKING PERFORMANCE

To the Editor of the Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I was revolted by the election propaganda broadcast on July 9 which used the dripping of human blood on to a marble slab to drive home a political point. I cannot blame the head of the party who would sink to any depths to get his message across, without also blaming those who sided and abetted him, namely the camera crew, the director and the PR company who put it all together. The incitement to racial hatred illustrated in this instance and its possible effect is not one person's expression of moral and physical sadism, but the shared guilt and lack of responsibility to their fellow citizens, of several.

The broadcast is so indelibly printed on my mind that I cannot erase it. While watching the programme, I felt the vomit rise in my throat and it will remain there until I am assured that there will never be another like it.

ZELDA HARRIS

Tel Aviv.

PEACE WITH THE PALESTINIANS

To the Editor of the Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Looking for a rational, humanitarian and political settlement of the Palestinian question, an Israeli of goodwill must infer that this would be possible only if a compromise were to be reached with a Palestinian-controlled Jordan. The present rulers of Jordan may not conclude a deal with Israel if only because they do not represent the bulk of the Palestinians aspiring to national status.

From the point of view of Israel, it is immaterial how the Palestinians gain control of Jordan — with the consent of King Hussein or without it. What is vital is that the part of Palestine allotted to British tutelage by the League of Nations, and lying east of the river Jordan, be in the hands of people who can speak on behalf of most Palestinians.

Who speaks for the Palestinians now? — Not Yasser Arafat, appearances notwithstanding. Arafat can hardly pretend to represent more than himself and a few thousand of his followers. Israel, faced with an issue of life and death, cannot treat amateurishly with a party that is unable to back its word. Only in

Jordan can one expect the formation of governing Palestinian bodies which might assume responsibility for current order as well as undertake responsibility for keeping promises in the future.

Only after that stage is achieved, must direct negotiations between Palestinians and Israel follow. Both sides must be prepared for painful compromises, mainly of territorial nature. Palestinian-held Jordan would have to accept peace with Israel, while Israel would have to live with a PLO-controlled, neighbour.

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TO THE VOTERS OF ISRAEL

We, the undersigned, do not belong to any political party, but we consider it our duty to call on the public to vote for HATEHIYA-TZOMET.

- The elections, which will be held on July 23, 1984, will be fateful for the future of Eretz Yisrael.
- The Alignment stands for handing over to Arab sovereignty parts of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, with their 50,000 Jewish settlers, within the framework of a temporary agreement; and for returning the major parts of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, in exchange for a "peace agreement" (similar to the Egyptian "peace").
- On the other hand, the Likud, as stated in the Camp David agreement, proposes granting full autonomy in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, and recognizing the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" (i.e., the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people). Consummation of the Likud policy would bring us, ultimately, to the same situation which the Alignment intends to create.
- Returning to the "Green Line," even an amended one, and the existence of a Jordanian Palestinian state (or any other form of Arab rule) within the area of western Eretz Yisrael would, in fact, be an open invitation to the Arab states to "surprise" us again — but this time from a border only 15 km. from the Mediterranean — and to wage a "final" war against us.
- Hatehiya-Tzomet asserts that these policies must be resisted, and calls for the immediate application of Israeli law in, and sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, the intensification of the process of setting up new settlements in all parts of Israel, and the bringing of a million Jews in the next decade, as the only way to achieve true peace, whose meaning is "peace in exchange for peace."

Aluf (Res.) Meir Zorea (Zaro)
Shmuel Katz
Prof. Andre Neher

Prof. Harel Fish
Prof. Ben Shlomo

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